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65TH CONGRESS, 3d Session | SENATE | DOCUMENT No. 452

WILLIAM JOEL STONE

(Late a Senator from Missouri)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE
AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
THIRD SESSION

Proceedings in the Senate
February 2, 1919

Proceedings in the House
February 2, 1919

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

WASHINGTON
1919

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page.
Proceedings in the Senate	5
Prayer by Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco	5
Memorial addresses by—	
Mr. Selden P. Spencer, of Missouri	11
Mr. Gilbert M. Hitchcock, of Nebraska	17
Mr. Willard Saulsbury, of Delaware	20
Mr. John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts	23
Mr. William H. King, of Utah	27
Mr. Duncan U. Fletcher, of Florida	41
Mr. Henry L. Myers, of Montana	46
Mr. Hoke Smith, of Georgia	50
Mr. John H. Bankhead, of Alabama	54
Mr. Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado	57
Mr. Thomas P. Gore, of Oklahoma	64
Mr. James A. Reed, of Missouri	69
Proceedings in the House	101
Prayer by Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D	101
Memorial addresses by—	
Mr. Champ Clark, of Missouri	107
Mr. Joshua W. Alexander, of Missouri	117
Mr. Scott Ferris, of Oklahoma	124
Mr. Clement C. Dickinson, of Missouri	126
Mr. Leonidas C. Dyer, of Missouri	132
Mr. Charles F. Booher, of Missouri	134
Mr. Courtney W. Hamlin, of Missouri	141
Mr. Walter L. Hensley, of Missouri	146
Mr. Thomas L. Rubey, of Missouri	149
Mr. William L. Igoe, of Missouri	156
Mr. Harold Knutson, of Minnesota	158
Mr. Perl D. Decker, of Missouri	160
Mr. Milton A. Romjue, of Missouri	164

DEATH OF HON. WILLIAM JOEL STONE

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

MONDAY, *April 15, 1918.*

Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco, offered the following prayer:

O God of our fathers, in whose hands are the lives of men and in whose power is the destiny of the Nation, look down upon Thy children gathered here in Thy name. In the way of Thy love Thou hast again visited this body and taken from it one whose power was our glory. Make us recognize that with Thee are the issues of life and death. Make us submissive to the decree of Thy divine providence. Thou alone can bring strength to those who mourn. Thou alone can bring peace to hearts oppressed by grief and pain. O grant that his loved ones may find strength in Thee to bear their loss. Grant that his loved ones may through their tears look up to Thee as the only source of joy and consolation.

Chosen representatives of a mighty people, we come to Thee in the most crucial day in the history of our civilization. O give us light that we may see Thy way among the nations. Give us strength that we may follow the light whithersoever it may be. Make our laws reflect Thy divine wisdom and may they direct the issues of the world unto Thy greater glory.

Give strength unto our President and to those in whose hands are the affairs of our mighty people. We pray above all things that they may have strength and power to endure and to fight to the end. Give strength to our men who in fields afar battle for our rights. Give strength

to their arms that they may win victory and that through victory there may come peace. And grant, O Lord, that in the days of peace we may grow in power unto righteousness and unto the glory of Thy holy name. Amen.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, Senator STONE died on yesterday, at 4.30 o'clock in the afternoon. His funeral services will occur at the family residence at 4 o'clock this afternoon. His body will be borne to the capital of his State, arriving there on Tuesday morning. It will lie in state in the capitol building a part of Tuesday. It will then be conveyed to Nevada, Mo., for interment amidst those surroundings where he began his illustrious career.

In a few days more he would have arrived at the allotted threescore years and ten. Over half of that long period he had devoted to the public service. He now returns to his State the badge of his office, upon which there is neither blot nor stain. Dishonor never laid its touch upon the life of WILLIAM JOEL STONE. It may of him be justly said that all his mature life was devoted to his country. Possessing those great abilities which would have enabled him to achieve eminence in any position of life and to have acquired fortune, he chose to devote his talents to the public welfare and to lead a life devoid of luxury and to die without even a competency.

His love of country was so passionate as to be beyond the understanding of many men. His loyalty was so exalted that he was not always understood, for all could not rise to the sublime devotion which inspired his soul. I knew Senator STONE better than any man outside his immediate blood kin. I knew him so well that I am sure I knew his great soul—the soul of this great Missourian and great American.

Knowing him in this intimate way, I may be permitted to say that during the last three weeks constant news from

the battle fields of France telling the story of how our lines were being pushed back by German hordes fell upon his heart with a crushing force. Of all the men I have known there is not one who seemed to me to feel so much the weight of anxiety for our cause, upon whose lips there was so passionate a prayer for victory for the arms of our allies and of our own soldiers. I use no extravagance of speech when I declare that could we restore to him the life that has passed out and bring him here among us clothed in health and flesh he would gladly give his life again if thereby he could serve his country's cause and bring to it a great and victorious peace.

At such a time as this and in the days that are to come, when the wounds of a bleeding world must be bound up, the Senate can ill afford, his State can ill afford, his country can ill afford, the world can ill afford his absence.

Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions and ask for their immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 225) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM JOEL STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. STONE, which will take place at 4 o'clock post meridian to-day at his late residence in this city.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect his remains be removed from his late home in this city to Nevada, Mo., for burial, in charge of the Sergeant at Arms, attended by the committee, which shall have full power to carry these resolutions into effect.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The Vice President appointed, under the second resolution, as the committee on the part of the Senate Mr. Reed, Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Smith of Arizona, Mr. Pittman, Mr. Jones of New Mexico, Mr. King, Mr. Kendrick, Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Sutherland, and Mr. Fernald.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I submit the following resolution and ask for its adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

WEDNESDAY, *January 15, 1919.*

Mr. REED. I ask unanimous consent to have an order made by the Senate at this time to fix a date for memorial addresses on the late Senator WILLIAM J. STONE.

The order was read and agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That the Senate convene on Sunday, February 2, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m., to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public service of the late Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE.

Mr. BECKHAM. On January 2 an order was entered fixing February 9 as the date for memorial addresses on the late Senator James. Owing to a conflict in dates, I ask that the order be changed to February 2 instead of February 9.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Chair hears none.

SUNDAY, *February 2, 1919.*

(Legislative day of Friday, January 31, 1919.)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I present the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 433) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate assembles as a mark of respect to the memory of Hon. WILLIAM JOEL STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Senate again expresses its profound sorrow at the death of the late Senator from Missouri.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives and to the family of the deceased.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I desire at this point to yield the floor to my colleague [Mr. Spencer].

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Spencer, of Missouri

Mr. President: In the infallible record of the Holy Scriptures it is written: "There are three things that are never satisfied—yea, four things say not, It is enough." The first of these is the grave, always demanding, constantly receiving, ever insatiable.

Again its awful power has been felt in this Chamber and ruthlessly it has summoned from service and association and cooperation William Joel Stone.

In the sad hush of death and in the calm reflection that follows thereafter many things are forgotten which perhaps ought never to have been remembered and many things are remembered which certainly ought never to have been forgotten.

After death the big things, commendable and worthy of emulation, in the character and speech and action of him who is gone appear like gold from the refiner's fire, and the dross of human imperfections, so common to us all, becomes alike valueless and discarded.

Great in mind, great in speech, great in accomplishment, as was the distinguished Senator from Missouri in whose memory we are this day assembled, he was conspicuously great in his loyalty and fidelity to his friends.

Ingratitude in public life is doubly regrettable and despicable. The small man when he finds himself in the possession of the place or the power for which he craved is apt to forget the help and self-sacrifice and encouragement of those by whose efforts his ambitions were gratified, and he yields easily to the suggestion of indifference or neglect in anything that concerns their interests and does not directly advance his own.

No one ever accused Senator STONE of either disloyalty to his friends, personal or political, or of indifference to the things in which they were interested. He was a friend, tried and true, faithful and loyal, and in every county of Missouri there are multitudes of those who have followed his political career in the county, in the House of Representatives, as governor of his State, and as a Member of this body, and who constantly believed in him, trusted him, loved him, and revere his memory.

One of the repeated events of the political campaign last fall which I shall always remember was the loving devotion of this great number of people, most of them well advanced in years, who could not speak of Senator STONE without a tear, and whose affection and admiration, which represented the accumulated growth of a generation, nothing could either shake or destroy. He was the dominating power in the councils of his party for 30 years. When danger threatened, when differences of opinion became acute, it was to his wise counsel and unquestioned party loyalty that all factions turned in confident willingness to abide by his decision, certain alike of its fairness and its wisdom.

He had the courage of his convictions. He won his political battles even when the odds seemed largely against him. He was one of the great men of his party in his State and in the Nation.

The eloquent words which he himself used in his great eulogy of Hon. James N. Burnes, of Missouri, in the House of Representatives 30 years ago this month, may with fitting propriety and with peculiar appropriateness be used of Senator STONE:

> He had iron in his blood. He was a dangerous man to wrong. He knew how to remember, how to resent, how to revenge. A fallen foe or a repentant one he was ready always to forgive.

Accessible at all times to honorable reconciliation, an open foe did well to guard with caution and watch with apprehension. He was fruitful of resource, adroit in attack, masterful in defense, relentless in pursuit. His enemies, whether those who had done him a positive wrong or those who had stood as obstacles in the way of his great purposes, had never any reason to doubt that sooner or later an opportunity would come to test his mettle. He fought as occasion required, but honorably. Some who stood against him, in their most promising periods of apparent safety, have suddenly felt their foundations sinking and seen the fabric of their strength falling about them without comprehending the cause of disaster. Others he has confronted and sprung upon with the roar and crush of a lion, impatient of restraint, and swept them away at once. While his enemy stood upon his feet to strike and defy, he had in his blood the merciless instinct of battle and in his brain the inspiration of the warrior. But when the sun went down upon a battle finished there came back to his heart the gentleness of a woman and a longing to forgive and be forgiven.

As an orator Senator STONE was magnetic, forceful, eloquent in diction and in manner, thrilled and thrilling in the earnestness with which he felt and proclaimed his sentiments. Personal gain had for him neither temptation nor attraction. The best years of his life he gave to the service of those whom he represented. Efficient and painstaking, alert and resourceful, sympathetic and intelligent, he was ever engaged in the duties of his public life and had neither the ability nor the time to acquire anything for himself. He died a poor man in the things of this world.

Sorrow and joy are mingled together in this memorial service. Sorrow because of the vacant place, the vanished touch, the silent tongue, the lost companionship; joy in the contemplation of the great things and good things which abound in his long life of great public importance. We bow our heads in sorrow, but in the very midst of grief there springs up with ever-increasing frequency both

gratitude and love for the good things that abide and forgetfulness of the mistakes and errors that are forgotten. The things that have been wrongly done and the failures which are incident to human life let us write them in the dew of the morning that the rising sun may destroy forever the record. The things in which we rejoice and which we emulate let us carve upon marble that they may with the increasing years survive forever.

If a man die, shall he live again?

It is the agonizing question in the hearts of those who remain. It is the problem that demands solution by every open grave. It is the unspoken thought of every mind.

Of the life beyond the grave Senator STONE had no doubt. Years ago he said:

This I do know, that there is in me, as in you, a feeling which is independent of mere desire, a strange consciousness that is not connected with any sense of fear or hope, that there is something in us that is not "of the earth earthy"; that is not of this mortality, mortal. I take hold of this.

In the last hours of his life he sent a message to Sims, the veteran barber of the Senate, whose love for the Word of God and its teaching is known to many Senators upon this floor and from whom Senator STONE had more than once heard the simple story of the cross. He died on the very day when he had expected to again hear this aged negro preach, and the message which he sent is characteristic of what was running in his mind at the last, "Tell Sims to continue to preach the gospel."

Other things assume their proper place of insignificance in the shadow of eternity. Pomp and power and wealth and strength are empty baubles when death comes into view. It is so compellingly invincible. Its very silence speaks infallibly of its overwhelming power. Whether it comes without expectation or in the course of

waiting, it is alike the manifestation of the absolute helplessness of man and of the power of God.

Once after traveling for hours over the plains and looking upon the distant hills and valleys and admiring now more and now less the changing scenes of ordinary things about me I came, almost without warning, to the very brink of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado that stretched out as far as the eye could see in a continued picture of indescribable grandeur.

Mountains of varied colors were piled upon mountains of changing hues, and in spite of their mammoth size seemed almost lost because of the far greater immensity of the gulf in which they lay—a gulf which the ceaseless river, looking like a slender band of silver at the distant bottom of the canyon, had cut through the centuries out of rock and earth.

I gasped for breath at the wonder of it. Man was impotent either to create it or to imitate it or to prevent it. It was like the rising of the sun by day or the queenly luster of the moon by night—the mighty work of Omnipotent God.

So in this hour we stand in solemn awe before death, impotent to delay or prevent. Kings and paupers are alike subject to its imperial decree. It is God at such a time with whom we have to do. He who "hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand and meted out Heaven with the span and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance."

Money and rank and earthly achievement, like the froth of the boiling cauldron which for the moment is most conspicuous, soon disappears and fades away. The enduring things—fidelity, loyalty, sympathy, integrity, bravery, gentleness—are the characteristics that abide, and above them all that simple faith which, like a little

child, accepts the things which God has promised and the words which He has spoken.

I never stand above a bier and see
The seal of death on some well-loved face
But that I think one more to welcome me
When I shall cross the intervening space
Between this land and that one over there;
One more to make the strange beyond seem fair.
And so for me there nothing is in death,
And so the grave has lost its victory;
It is but crossing with abated breath
And white set face a little strip of sea,
To find the loved ones waiting on the shore,
More beautiful, more precious than before.

Address of Mr. Hitchcock, of Nebraska

Mr. President: We have gathered here to-day in memory of one who was in public life, with certain intermissions, for nearly 45 years, a record of public service and personal sacrifice rarely equaled even in the United States.

William Joel Stone had the force of character, ability, and education which equipped him for great success and a prosperous career in his chosen profession. Had he followed that profession he would have attained all the luxuries and indulgences which success in it brings. Yet he listened to the call of public service and at the age of 24 years took up the burdens of public life, which he carried, with few intermissions, until the age of 70, when he died in harness.

I have coupled with this public service a suggestion of personal sacrifice, and that was characteristic preeminently of this great Senator from Missouri, for practically all his life he lived, as he died, a poor man, content with the rather meager salaries which attach to public office. There was a quiet dignity, as well as a suggestion of pathos, in Senator Stone's attitude toward the world in which he labored so long, so ably, and so patiently for such modest recompense, when he might, like others of his ability, have commanded so much. I feel justified, therefore, in speaking of him as one who made a personal sacrifice in serving the public.

Mr. President, before a man reaches the Senate of the United States he has as a rule gone through a number of severe struggles which have on more than one occasion tried his mettle. I doubt, however, whether any Member of this body ever passed through a more tempestuous career of political struggle in his own State than did

Senator STONE. He not only went through those struggles for himself but he went through those struggles for his party, to which he was deeply attached, and he went through them for his friends, for whom he was ready to make all sacrifices. He was a seasoned veteran when he came here.

He delighted in combat. He combined a wonderful degree of courage with a very unusual sagacity, and at all times he exhibited that fidelity to his convictions and to his friends to which the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Spencer] has already referred. In all these contests he showed himself to be a foe to be feared and a friend to be trusted.

When he entered the broader field of national politics he took naturally and of right a high position of leadership. I remember particularly in the great Bryan campaigns, which began with the mighty revolutionary contest of 1896, WILLIAM JOEL STONE was one of the few old honored leaders who did not desert the standard of his party but who came forward with all his resources to carry out the party decree that had been rendered at the Chicago convention. Later, when his party was triumphant and Wilson was elected President of the United States with a Democratic Congress, Senator STONE gave to the great constructive measures which distinguished particularly the first term of President Wilson all the ability and all the energy and all the enthusiasm which he possessed. He struggled to bring about that party solidarity and party discipline which were absolutely necessary to carry these great national measures into effect.

Senator STONE had been a tower of strength in the days of struggling Democracy, and he became one of the active forces which made effective the great measures that were undertaken.

Mr. President, let us not forget to consider the great, final sacrifice of Senator Stone's life. I have said he lived a life of public service and sacrifice. I fully believe that in the decision he reached, under which he felt compelled to separate himself from the dominant will of the country, under which he felt compelled to vote against the war which the country had decided on, he made that final sacrifice which only a strong and courageous man is willing to make in adhering to his personal convictions. I do not know with whom Senator Stone consulted. I doubt whether he consulted with anyone. I knew something of his decision before he made it public. I endeavored to dissuade him from it, but I found he was adamant in his conviction that he was right. He felt that he could not change his position without sacrificing his self-respect and doing violence to his conscience. He could easily foresee the storm of criticism which he invited, but he was willing to make that final sacrifice. He was ready to bear the criticism of the world and the opprobrium which enemies visited upon him; he was willing to encounter all that for the sake of adhering to what he believed to be right.

Senator Stone, as I have said, was a fighter. He was a man who had won his way into public life by adherence to his convictions and by devotion to his party. He was the "stormy petrel" of politics. The greater the storm the higher he rose above it. He was not willing when the great crisis came to yield his convictions. He was against war and so recorded himself. But when the country had made its decision and war was declared we all remember how Senator Stone took up actively and energetically the fullest and most complete support of all the measures proposed to make that war a success.

Address of Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware

Mr. President: My acquaintance with Senator Stone covered a period of more than 20 years. Sometimes it had been of a close and intimate character, sometimes it had resembled that of a casual acquaintance, but from the beginning of the period until Senator Stone's death I admired him for his courage, for his ability and fearlessness, for his disregard personally of the character of the opposition he aroused or encountered. I believe he as unhesitatingly expressed his views, his likes and dislikes, as any man I ever knew.

A good many of us recall how once a presidential candidate of our party characterized the section of the country from which I come as "the enemy's country." We all probably remember the scream of opposition and antagonism in the public press when that expression was used. A political campaign had to be conducted in my section of the country as well as elsewhere, and William J. Stone was asked to take charge of and manage that Democratic campaign. He knew as well as any man what effort was involved, how unfriendly for the most part would be the attitude of the potential forces, and yet, as a duty he felt he owed to his party and his country, he accepted the work and conducted that campaign so far as it could be conducted in a masterly manner, taking advantage of every opportunity to further the interests of his party and its then candidate with great tact and consummate skill. Apologizing to none, currying favor nowhere, but maintaining the integrity of the principles of his party in the contest in every way, he overlooked no opportunity of which a brilliant intellect and tireless energy could avail itself.

It was a great pleasure to me to be associated with Senator Stone whenever our relations were of such a

character that they could approach semi-intimacy. He was a very charming man in his personal relations with his friends, and I had the privilege of occupying that position from time to time, broken sometimes by periods of absence and now and then by occasions when we had somewhat violently disagreed on public matters or on questions of policy. Any man who lived with Senator Stone, in my opinion, had such periods. So far as I was concerned, at least, while courtesy might control him in small differences, when anything approached a fundamental difference it was well to be prepared for any condition of antagonism that might arise.

Senator Stone was a strong man and fought hard. When he felt strongly, personal consideration and personal friendship did not control his thoughts, speech, or action. He was undoubtedly a wise, able, and sometimes an intense advocate, and on such occasions personal considerations and personal relations, so far as my observation went, had little weight with him. He was a great believer in the efficacy of party regularity and party organization, and impatient of the actions of anyone unwilling or unable on ordinary occasions to subordinate his views to the opinions of his colleagues when those opinions were expressed clearly by the majority, and he never hesitated, so far as I know, to express to his colleagues, whether of his own party or the opposition, his opinion of their acts or position, and used no honeyed words to soften the asperities which might be engendered.

For his own part, there were very few occasions when he could not bring his own action into accord with what he knew to be the considered conclusion reached by his party associates. A man of this kind, Mr. President, is a useful legislator. My judgment is that either branch of Congress is better off the more men of this type are found among its Members. Life sometimes is not so pleasant,

personal relations are often not so agreeable, but no man who respects strength and vigor and ability and the frank expression of views held by his colleagues can fail to appreciate the life and character of WILLIAM JOEL STONE. No one despised more than he a "carpet knight" in politics. He was a leader of men, and led them as commander of the fighting forces.

There have been occasions when mistakenly, as I think, he assumed positions on public questions not held by a majority of us. His attitude was almost invariably misconstrued and commented upon in an unfriendly way by many enemies, most of whom he despised; but, in my opinion, no one could ever properly accuse Senator STONE of being un-American or unpatriotic, for no man more consistently than he, after we entered into the great war, more loyally supported measures intended to strengthen our country, to uphold her power, and to bring her forces to efficiency and victory.

Senator STONE was a brilliant man; he was a clever man; he was an eloquent man; and he gave to his country the best that was in him. He has been a distinct loss to this body, and those of us who knew him best, even when cordial relations were sometimes interrupted, but whose appreciation of him survived momentary differences, know well that Senator STONE was a strong, able, conscientious American patriot, a great man, and a good friend.

Address of Mr. Weeks, of Massachusetts

Mr. President: The Senate has assembled to-day to honor the memory of one of our late and distinguished colleagues, Senator William Joel Stone, of Missouri. While I did not have the pleasure of the close personal relationship with Senator Stone, either in committee association or long service enjoyed by some Senators, yet our association on the floor of the Senate and in other ways compelled my admiration of him and his tireless and efficient attention to the duties of his office.

Missouri is one of the very great States of the Union—important in natural resources, in its location, in its principal cities, and, more than in other ways, in the character of its people. When I came to the House of Representatives in 1904, as a result of the Republican landslide of that year, the political complexion of the delegation from Missouri had changed to some degree. I found there, however, firmly entrenched in the confidence of their constituents several strong Representatives, and notably among the leaders in that body two men who had even then made their impress on the House of Representatives and on the country—David A. De Armond, who at that time was a member of the powerful Committee on Rules and one of the deservedly leading debaters and Members of the House, who came to an untimely end in attempting to rescue his grandson from a burning building; and the other, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives, Champ Clark, who, with great credit to himself and his State, is completing a term of service in that position as long as that great office has been held by any man in the history of our Government.

Being a new Member, with a maximum of time and a minimum of responsibilities, I had opportunity to study

political conditions. Quite naturally my attention was called to a State which retained and promoted men of such ability and qualities, and my interest led me to look into the past and the then present senatorial representation of Missouri, only to find that the characteristics and qualities which had caused the selection of such Members of the House of Representatives had been equally evidenced in the selection of Members of the Senate from the earliest days of the State. Mr. Benton was an important figure in a Senate led by some of the greatest men in our political history, and his prominence and usefulness served as a standard which has been maintained throughout the life of the State down to our own time in the selection of men of great capacity to represent Missouri in the Senate.

As a recent example of this custom, Missouri was represented in the Senate during the last years of the nineteenth century by two of the most conspicuous men who have served in this body—the silver-tongued Vest and that sterling militant figure, Francis Marion Cockrell, who only recently ended his service in connection with the National Government.

Notwithstanding the great qualities of these men and others to whom I have not time to make special reference, they were succeeded by one who, in my opinion, excelled them all in political wisdom and leadership. Senator STONE was for many years a leading figure in this body. While I had never heard him speak when engaged in the practice of law, he was undoubtedly a most effective advocate in civil life. He at least brought that quality to the Senate and became the skillful advocate of the interests of the people he represented and of his political party. That he performed that service with great effectiveness is known to every man with whom he served. Those who have heard him will never forget his ingenious pleas for any cause in the interests of his constituents

or the Democratic Party, although the soundness of some of the policies he advocated was sometimes questioned by his political opponents and even by his political friends. I have never heard any stronger arguments in such matters than he has made in this Chamber, and his loss to his State and to his party in this body is as nearly irreparable as can be the loss of any one man.

I had kindly and friendly relations with him. While an extreme partisan, he was on most cordial terms with many of those not aligned with him politically, and I shall never forget one incident in my political life which will always make me recall his friendly tendencies toward his associates. Soon after I entered the Senate I made a trip to the West which was largely political in its character. This was well known to Senator STONE, and my errand was not one in which in any way obligated him to give any attention to my visit to his State. Yet when I arrived in Missouri he was one of the first men to call on me at my hotel and welcome me to his State. He not only did that, but he took particular pains to express his friendly views about me and my mission to those of my political party, with whom he was on close intimate personal terms. While I did not learn this from him personally, I had ample evidence of its truth in many instances, and it showed a most unusual kindliness and friendly disposition toward a political opponent.

Few men have had a longer or more varied political service. Senator STONE served six years in the House of Representatives more than 30 years ago, was governor of his State for a term of 4 years, and served in the Senate for 15 years, undoubtedly having a life lease on the latter office. While he had reached an age when men might naturally be expected to retire or, at least, modify their activities, he continued strong and vigorous to the end, and if he had been spared I am confident he would have

continued for many years to have been an important figure in senatorial life and in the leadership of his party.

Senator STONE was a consistent party man. He had a sincere belief and faith in the wisdom of the principles and policies of the Democratic Party, and to the day of his death he never tired or relaxed in his efforts to advance his party's cause. While I could very seldom agree with him on matters of political policy, I never questioned the sincerity of his faith in the doctrines he championed, and the vigor and sincerity with which he advocated them compelled my respect and admiration. I feel that I am expressing the sentiments of my colleagues when I say that his passing is deeply regretted among his old associates in this body, and in his death the citizens of Missouri have lost a representative whose first thought was of them, their welfare, and who was a most jealous guardian of their interests.

Address of Mr. King, of Utah

Mr. President: The eloquent eulogies to which we have just listened leave but little for me to say, but the occasion and my loyalty to the memory of one whom I was proud to call friend bid me speak. We pay tribute to-day to one who was a great American, a tried and proven statesman, a sincere and uncompromising Democrat, a leader, a strong, independent, genuine man, who in a long and illustrious career established himself in his State and in the Nation.

During the memorable political campaign of 1896 I first met Senator Stone, though his name and achievements were known to me prior to that time. During the campaign just alluded to his qualities of leadership were conspicuously demonstrated. Thereafter and until his death he was one of the greatest political leaders in his party. Later, and when I had opportunity to become intimately acquainted with this great man, my admiration for his ability, sagacity, chivalry, and all those elements of leadership developed in so preeminent degree in him was increased. When he was called from our midst I felt—paraphrasing the words of Burke—like saying, "The age of political chivalry is done, and the glory of political leadership has departed." But, like all men who strive mightily, with undaunted courage, and who contend for the triumph of the principles in which they sincerely believe, he provoked animosities and encountered fierce opposition. The path of the strong man, of the bold and uncompromising man, always has and always will be beset with difficulties. This is true in every field of human endeavor. It is conspicuously true in the political arena and in all those fields relating to governments and questions affecting the State. Leadership results from contests, from the con-

flicts which ever will exist among a progressive and virile people.

Senator STONE was deeply versed in the psychology of the people; he knew well the lessons taught in humanity's volume and had no illusions concerning the fierce and continuous struggles awaiting this and all other peoples. He was no visionary, and deduced his line of conduct from the experiences of the past and his rational and comprehensive studies of his day. Some men become leaders because they are opportunists. They seize upon some passing whim or seize the banner carried by an hysterical crowd. Such leadership is false and deadly. It brings humiliation to the erstwhile leader and defeat and disaster to his followers. Senator STONE was profoundly impressed with the view that there is an underlying immutable law which manifests itself in what we call social evolution and which finds expression in the social progress we behold in the human race.

While he regarded society as dynamic and not static, he believed it to be subject to unseen but nevertheless unchangeable principles. Cause and effect had application in human affairs and in the world's development and activities. Believing thus, he sought to understand the evolutionary processes finding manifestation in the world and to conform his conduct, and so far as possible the conduct of others, to these unseen yet controlling influences to which all are subject. He sought to ascertain the motives and purposes of individuals, communities, and nations, the conflicting currents which bore humanity, the causes and effects of individual, community, and State action and conduct. These questions he studied, and studied thoroughly. In his active and analytical mind these great forces and questions were weighed and balanced. Such study and effort gave him wisdom and qualified him for safe and brilliant leadership.

His keen and discriminating mind enabled him to divine the dangers to State or party, as well as to anticipate the plans and purposes of his adversaries. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Senator STONE was his devotion to his political principles and the political party with which he was identified during his entire life. This devotion did not result from a desire for place or power, but rather from his supreme love of country, the form of government under which we live, and the principles for which the Democratic Party stands. He recognized that political parties were essential under our form of government, but he believed that political parties should exist not for the gratification of the ambitions or desires of any person or for mere party triumph but for the preservation of the Republic and the liberties of the people. Believing that the mission of the Democratic Party was to preserve the Constitution of the United States and maintain the sovereignty of the States and the rights reserved by them as well as by the people, he earnestly devoted himself to that party. Merely to be successful was not what he sought; he sincerely and earnestly desired his country's welfare. Autocracy or imperialism in any form was obnoxious to him. His political philosophy found expression in the undying teachings of Jefferson.

Senator STONE always trusted the people. He was vigilant to oppose power and any movement which sought to deprive the people of the States of the rights, liberties, and prerogatives which, under our dual form of government, they have reserved to themselves. In his view, the Democratic Party was charged with the sacred duty of defending the Constitution of the United States and the individual liberty of the American people. He was profoundly impressed with the view that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and that there is no promise of

immortality even to a Republic which recognizes that all just powers are derived from the consent of the governed. Accordingly he viewed with apprehension any movement looking toward a deprivation of the States of reserved rights and the assumption of power and authority by the Federal Government not delegated to it.

By many he was regarded as a strong partisan. Strong men become strong partisans. Principles which they believe in become a part of the fiber of their being; they are ready to fight for them; they gladly die for them. But, I repeat, his devotion to party was superinduced by his love of country. If I were asked to name the chief characteristic of WILLIAM J. STONE I think I should unhesitatingly say it was love of his country. He believed in this Republic, in its destiny; he regarded it as a rich benefaction from an overruling Providence, a patrimony not to be squandered but to be sacredly protected; a light which in the darkness of the world was to shine to illumine the pathway of the oppressed and downtrodden throughout the world. I think he exemplified in his loyalty to country the words of a great writer, who said:

> Holy is my hearth;
> Holy will be to Thee my house.

His country was his hearthstone; it was his sacred house which was not to be defiled or destroyed. To him it was always holy; he desired that to all others it should be holy. When I think of Senator STONE I remember the words of another, who said:

> I do love my country's good with a respect more tender,
> More holy and profound, than my own life.

As stated, he believed in party organization, not for party victory or party achievement or success but to defeat what he regarded as un-American principles and to preserve the Nation. He knew that in a pure

democracy or in a representative government—and, indeed, in all political structures—there are contending forces, those seeking liberty, freedom, progress; others fighting for stagnant or retrogressive conditions. He realized that any party too long in power, free from opposition or criticism, will become stagnant and finally reactionary and oppressive. Therefore he welcomed a strong and vigorous opposition party and believed that under our form of government the principles of liberty could be best preserved through the instrumentality of virile, puissant, political parties contending in the public arena for supremacy. However, believing political parties as the instrumentality to bring about good government, he regarded it as their sacred duty to stand for moral principles and for freedom and righteousness, accepting the view that the Constitution of these United States is a visible manifestation of God's providence to the world. He felt that political parties were corrupt and immoral if they sought mere party advantage or their course tended to the undermining of our Government.

Mr. President, I am profoundly convinced that this great man did not regard the Republic as a phantom or an evanescent form, but he believed that it would endure for the ages. He therefore consecrated his life to the preservation of the Republic and the principles of liberty for which it stands. He had a profound reverence for the fathers and the founders of the Republic and regarded political truths as sacred and immortal. He belonged to the school of political thought which believes that there are certain fundamental principles of truth and righteousness which constitute the foundation and structure of just governments, the same as there are immortal truths that are the basis of religion and of the spiritual life. He believed with Hamilton that "the sacred rights of man are not to be searched for in old documents and musty rec-

ords. They are written as with the sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of divinity itself and can never be erased by mortal power."

Possessing these views, he sought the faith and teachings of the founders of the Republic and of his party for wisdom to guide him in his tempestuous, heroic, and intrepid career.

Mr. President, another striking characteristic of this great man was his sincerity. Carlyle, who philosophizes and teaches, declares that sincerity is the chief fact about a man. Sincere men, of course, are often wrong; but a sincere one, when right, is the safest of leaders. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hitchcock] has just alluded to the strong convictions which Senator STONE possessed and to the fact that when, after serious meditation and study, he had reached a conclusion, he was adamant. He followed his convictions to the end, regardless of consequences, and knowing at times full well that such a course would result in denunciation and the most violent opposition. The truth of this statement is exemplified in his attitude toward the war with Germany. Senator STONE believed that our Nation could avoid war with the central empires without detracting from its honor. Doubtless there were many reasons which combined to lead him to withhold support from the resolution which was the equivalent of a declaration of war against Germany. Perhaps his sympathy for the people—the wives and mothers who would lose husbands and sons—strongly influenced his determination to oppose entering the war. The daily reports of the sanguinary conflicts upon the fields of France and Belgium brought to him inexpressible sorrow. He grieved at the sufferings and sorrows that were overwhelming Europe and other parts of the world. He hoped that this Nation could avoid entering the bloody conflict, and that its position as the leading neutral Nation of the world would

give it a moral power that could be exercised to pacify and heal the contending nations. He knew the horrors of war, the sorrows and the trials and the broken hearts and destroyed homes which it brings. "Unseen by the corporal eyes, but too clearly visible to the mind's eye, he could see the great army of the dead, the abandoned, the forgotten; the army of cruel tortures and prolonged infirmities, which pursues its fatal march behind what men so often call glory."

But, Mr. President, Senator STONE, as much as any living man, comprehended the aftermath of the war. He realized the stupendous problems which would arise when peace was declared. He could foresee the unrest and disorder, the unloosing of our social, religious, and other bonds, and the madness and chaos of the people. He looked with dread upon what the tide of war would bring to our own land and what its consequences would be with respect to our own institutions and our social structure. With prophetic eye he saw the picture which in part we now behold, and he dreaded the evils which now threaten the world. He felt that if we entered the war it might lead to an abandonment of the policies announced by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and the fathers who gave us the Republic. Perhaps some may say he was provincial, but he believed that this was the greatest Government of the world and that it should not be drawn into entangling alliances or into the great maelstrom of European nations. He wanted an American character; a great, powerful American Nation, independent of other nations, not chained or bound or limited by the political structures of other lands and climes. I remember speaking with him shortly before the declaration of war upon the part of this Government. He stated, in effect, that he was afraid of the future and the effects of the great tragedy being enacted in Europe; and then he

added, "I want to keep this Republic as it was handed to us by the fathers." I remember that he referred to Washington and his position with respect to entangling alliances, and expressed the belief that if we entered the war it would result in a departure from what he regarded as the sound and safe policy for our country to pursue. He referred to several statements made by Washington, one of which was contained in a letter written by Washington to Patrick Henry. This morning I found the letter and from it copied the following extract:

> My ardent desire and my aim has been * * * to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic, and to keep the United States free from political connection with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an American character that the powers of Europe may be convinced that we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home, and not by becoming partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissension, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union.

There can be no question, Mr. President, upon the part of those who knew Senator STONE but that his opposition to war was in part based upon his sincere conviction that war would bring sorrow and suffering to the American people and likewise jeopardize the Republic and endanger the welfare and prosperity of the American people. He was preeminently American. He loved his country and he idealized his State. His affection for the State of Missouri was really pathetic. He spoke the name "Missouri" with a love and an affection found in the voice of a mother for her child.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hitchcock] has just referred to Senator STONE's position on the war. Many of us differed from Senator STONE in his position taken upon this important question. We believed that the

honor of our Nation, the defense of our Government and our people demanded that the United States should accept the condition of war which Germany had created, and that we should cast our fortunes with Great Britain and France and their gallant allies in hurling back the advancing hosts of the central powers, who sought the conquest of Europe, if not the world. But to Senator STONE war seemed a great and unnecessary tragedy. He visualized its horrors and with prophetic eye comprehended the evils which would follow when peace came. But when we had decided for war no one more vigorously supported the Nation, the President, and the cause than did he. Senators will remember the tense and dramatic situation when the resolution recognizing a state of war was under consideration in this body. Standing in the aisle of this Chamber, Senator STONE, with deep feeling and appealing earnestness, gave expression to his sentiments and voiced his view that if we entered into the war it would be "a colossal blunder." Then, in simple and eloquent terms, he stated his position as follows:

> But if the constituted powers of my Government, the powers constitutionally authorized to speak for the people on this momentous issue, shall decide for war, and we go into war, then I shall cast all doubts and forebodings to the winds, and my eyes thenceforth will be blind to everything but the flag of my country, borne by American boys through the storm of war, and my ears deaf to every call save that of my country in its hour of peril. If Congress unfurls the battle flag, however profound my sorrow, I will at once stand in salute to that flag, dutifully willing and ready to perform any service, to make any sacrifice necessary to bring the cause we espouse to a successful issue.

When the Nation spoke he saluted the flag and followed it and the brave and gallant American soldiers with a solicitude and devotion unsurpassed by anyone.

He cared but little for nonessentials, but was firm and unyielding when principles which he regarded as funda-

mental were involved. Criticism from enemies did not affect him, but the criticism of friends grieved him to the heart; but neither criticism nor opposition from friend or from foe swerved him from the path which he conceived to be the path of duty. In thinking of him I am reminded of the words of Channing when he said:

> I call that mind free which protects itself against the usurpations of society, which does not cower to human opinion, which feels itself accountable to a higher tribunal than man's, which respects a higher law than fashion, which respects itself too much to be the slave or tool of the many or the few.

While not in agreement with him upon all views which he expressed or positions by him taken, I nevertheless respected his intellectual honesty, his mental integrity, and the motives and purposes by which he was guided.

Senator STONE was solicitous for the welfare of the people. He desired this Republic to lead the world, and the American people, by reason of their ideals, their achievements, their devotion to the cause of freedon, to be the evangels of a strong and enduring political faith. I recall his interest in all efforts to unify the polyglot population within the United States. Frequently he talked with me concerning the separatist movements which had prevented the amalgamation and absorption of the aliens who had come to this land. He was anxious for the adoption of some plan that would Americanize the alien in our midst and enable him to comprehend our form of government and the institutions under which we live. Deeply sympathetic with the masses who had sought industrial and political freedom under this flag, he regarded it as the duty of the States and the Nation to afford them full opportunity to enjoy the bounties of this land of opportunity, not only material bounties, but those finer spiritual and ethical ones which have blossomed, even if they have not come to fruition, under our institutions.

I repeat, Mr. President, his thoughts were always for the people, for their welfare, for their prosperity, for his State and its progress and development, and for this Republic and its perpetuity. But his political views recognized that the prosperity of a nation depends upon the development of individual character and an adherence to those virtues which are the product of rational conception of the relations of the individual to the State. I think it can be stated of Senator STONE that his conceptions of what was essential to a vigorous and prosperous Commonwealth were in harmony with the words of Lecky when he declares that a nation is prosperous when and as long as—

> its foundation is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth and of public spirit, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness, and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment which springs quite as much from character as from intellect. If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, observe carefully whether these qualities are increasing or decaying. Observe especially what qualities count for most in public life. Is character becoming of greater or less importance? Are the men who obtain the highest posts in the Nation men of whom in private life and irrespective of party competent judges speak with genuine respect? Are they of sincere convictions, consistent lives, indisputable integrity? * * * It is by observing this moral current that you can best cast the horoscope of a nation.

Mr. President, with other Senators I went to the State which our departed friend represented in this Chamber. I attended the simple but inspiring funeral services, where friends from far and near gathered to pay their final tribute of love and affection to one whom they had followed for so many years. A deep and profound religious fervor rested upon all, and the services portrayed the faith, that simple yet mystic and undying faith, which Senator STONE had in the life beyond and in the merciful eternal Father who guides men and nations.

Perhaps he would have experienced some difficulty in his lifetime in defining his creed. He was not dogmatic, nor, indeed, could it be said of him that he was orthodox, and yet if we accept Kant's definition of religion it may truthfully be said that he was a religious man and exemplified his faith in his life. The philospher says—

> That religion consists in recognizing all our duties as divine commands.

Perhaps his religious creed might be summed up in these words:

> Religion is a belief in an everlasting God; that is, a divine mind and will, ruling the universe and holding moral relations with mankind.

Religion was not with him a metaphysical abstraction nor a scientific formula. He did not concern himself as to whether it was susceptible of scientific demonstration, but it was to him nevertheless something which was real and indispensable to man's welfare and social progress. It may sound paradoxical, yet I think it is true that even men of the greatest intellect and who demand the application of the strictest rules of logic and who accept many of what may be called the radical teachings of science deny the application of such principles when they come to deal with the spiritual forces and the religious faith which form so important a part in the life of men and which so powerfully determine the character and nature of human conduct. And thus it is that men have felt that "no form of belief is capable of functioning as a religion in the evolution of society which does not provide an ultrarational sanction for social conduct in the individual."

By some it is regarded as a phenomenon that with the remarkable utilitarian developments of the age and the

marvelous results derived from applied science there should be profound faith in an Omnipotent and Omniscient Being to whom man is accountable and from whom it is contended springs spiritual and moral forces for man's advancement. And the astonishment becomes greater upon the part of the extreme materialist when he witnesses the great number who accept the evolutionary principles preached with such fervor and enthusiasm by Darwin, Hackle, and Wallace, who gave the contributions of their mighty genius to the world. But no hypothesis or alleged demonstrable scientific truth, no rationalistic creed or comprehended or uncomprehended system of philosophy has driven from the human heart the longings for immortality, the faith in the power and the mercy and the goodness and the justice of an Everlasting and Eternal Father. This faith or belief, whatever it may be denominated, is not so much concerned as to whether it is logical or rational or conformable to scientific formulæ. Even if conceded to be ultrarational and incapable of being defended by acknowledged canons governing the intellectual and scientific mind, it insists, however, that the great motive power which has propelled humanity forward has been the ineradicable faith in an Eternal and Merciful Father, which, in all ages, has glorified the human soul.

He believed in God, the Eternal Father; he believed in Christ, the Saviour of mankind. His faith was perhaps not the result of intellectual effort or the analytical processes of his mind. I do not think he attempted to defend it upon the ground that it had a rational sanction, but, nevertheless, it was a living, vital thing, commanding obedience to the laws of righteousness, devotion to the Everlasting Father, and sacrifice and service—the true

expression of the Christian life. I think he would have said of himself, as was written by another:

What am I? Naught.
Nothing! yet the effluence of Thy light divine,
Pervading worlds, hath reached my bosom, too;
Yes, in my spirit doth Thy spirit shine,
As shines the sunbeam in a drop of dew,
Naught! but I live, and on hope's pinions fly
Eager toward Thy presence; for in Thee
I live, and breathe, and dwell, aspiring high,
Even to the throne of Thy Divinity.

Mr. President, we regret the loss of our departed friend; the Nation needed him, his State needed him, his party needed and still needs him. In this hour with the stupendous problems confronting not only this Nation but the world; problems made and forced upon us by the devastating war through which the world has just passed, his services would have been of inestimable value, and his loss becomes more apparent. God bless his memory. May we profit by the illustrious example which he has left for our guidance.

Address of Mr. Fletcher, of Florida

Mr. President: Within the borders of Kentucky there have been born into the world many individuals who have lived exemplary and useful lives; many who have served their fellow men in marked degree and their country heroically, as a whole; many who have met the responsibilities of citizenship and have discharged faithfully the duties of public office; many who have traveled the road to fame and at its end passed to the other life respected, loved, and honored. Among these distinguished sons, whose labors and services were performed in large part beyond the boundaries of their native State, Kentucky can proudly claim William Joel Stone, who was born in Madison County, May 7, 1848. He was educated at Missouri University, which later conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.

When he was 21 years of age he was admitted to the bar and four years thereafter he was elected prosecuting attorney for Vernon County, Mo.

His mental capacity and physical energy pushed him into wider fields. He had a taste for politics and became a student of public affairs. His rare tact, genial disposition, clear vision, sound judgment, and patriotic impulses made him a power in the sphere of political activities.

He was elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses. In 1893 he became governor of Missouri and gave the State four years of signal service as its executive.

As a member of the Democratic national committee, 1896–1904, and as its vice chairman in 1900–1904, his wise counsel, untiring zeal, and devotion to the cause were felt and appreciated. He displayed throughout his career extraordinary ability as an organizer and his skill and tact were equally effective in management. He was elected to

the United States Senate to succeed Hon. George Graham Vest for the term beginning March 4, 1903, reelected in 1909, and by popular vote in 1914 for the term beginning March 4, 1915. On April 14, 1918, he departed this life.

He had a trained mind of unusual capacity and strength. He possessed a gentle disposition, which drew men to him in bonds of attachment, lasting and strong.

He was patient, and at the same time aggressive and courageous in dealing with great questions and in debate.

He possessed in eminent degree the elements of leadership. His public service extended along two lines—executive and legislative. He was equally well equipped and efficient in both. The qualities of mind and heart manifested in these functions, reinforced by broad reading and study and thought, found expression in the field of statesmanship.

On the great committees of the Senate he was vigilant and untiring. In debate, on this floor, he was equal to any undertaking, and with a grace and an eloquence and power unsurpassed he handled his subjects in the fashion of a master.

Particularly on Finance and Foreign Relations, the chairmanship of which latter committee he graced, his services were most effective. His manner and characteristics were original and peculiar to himself. An attractive personality, a wholesome sense of humor, and dignity of bearing, combined with expressive eyes and features that beamed with intelligence, assured him a warm greeting in any assembly, whether it meant social intercourse or a relentless encounter with opposing forces in some momentous struggle. He exemplified Edwin Markham's "Preparedness:"

> For all of your days prepare
> And meet them all alike;
> When you are the anvil, bear—
> When you are the hammer, strike.

Felicity of expression, wealth of information, charm of delivery, and fine presence made us recognize in him the magnetic, skillful orator.

He seemed to treasure no animosities. He was generous in his consideration of others, patient and forbearing toward those who opposed him, gentle and kind toward his associates, and unstinted in his love of those who had claims upon his affections.

Times came when he had to decide upon a definite course and the road ahead was not plain and clear. So far as I know, he seldom advised with others or consulted his closest friends, but he stepped aside with his own conscience and judgment and adopted the course they dictated.

I may illustrate this best by quoting his own words. In the course of debate, February 3, 1915, on the shipping bill, which he strongly supported, he said:

> I have found out that whenever a man is opposed to a measure he becomes very sure that the people are against it; or, if he is for it, he is bold to assert that the people are for it; but I do not think that men who assume so much know anything more about the wishes of the people than I do.
>
> The only way I have of knowing what the people want is to make up my mind as to what is best for the country, feeling confident the people will approve if I am not mistaken.

He ardently hoped his country would not become involved in the catastrophe which shook the world in 1914. He saw clearly what war meant—the loss of young men, a kind of loss which any nation can ill afford to suffer at any time; the destruction of property; the burdens of taxation upon the people, loomed with all their terrors before him. He hoped there might be some honorable way of avoiding the calamities and suffering which war involved, even when it was plain that the war lord and military clique of Germany had deliberately proceeded to "Pour the

sweet milk of concord into hell; uproar the universal peace, and confound all unity on earth."

But when the decision was reached that there was no escape for his country, and its duty was to rally its defenders of liberty and champions of civilization, and there was no choice but to meet force with force to the limit, he patriotically joined in the effort and supported with his great ability and unflagging energy and wise counsel every measure and step intended to make victory certain.

He stated his position with his usual frankness and sincerity on July 14, 1917, during the debate on the food-control bill, H. R. 4961, as follows:

> You know, Mr. President, as every Senator and the country knows, I was absolutely opposed to plunging this country into this foreign, far-away European war. * * * I warned you and the country then that if we insisted upon this course we would open a Pandora's box, the multiplying evils of which no man was wise enough to forecast. * * * But from the beginning I have stated over and over again that while I looked with horror upon the proposal to involve this country in this foreign war, I would nevertheless loyally accept the joint judgment of the Congress and the President if they should, acting together, declare for war; and from that day forth I have stood steadfastly in support of the dominating forces of the Government which declared that war was necessary. That is the position I took at the start, and I shall abide by it. * * * I shall support the President and the Government in organizing our national resources and in using them to the utmost of our strength.

It was a sad day last April when we realized that he would be with us here no more. A personal affliction had fallen upon each of us; a real deprivation of the help we needed; a misfortune to the country he loved.

Until our friends go, never to return, we fail to realize how dear they are to us. We are left, however, with the consolation that memory keeps them ever with us, and in the quiet hours we can almost feel "the touch of the van-

ished hand" and hear "the sound of the voice that is still."

I believe I would not misjudge him if I made the estimate I venture to condense. He conceived true liberty to mean the privilege of doing "unmolested what the law allows."

And that real democracy means "organized self-control."

And that his conviction was that "out of the heart are the issues of life."

A deep and abiding love of country and a steadfast Americanism were the very lifeblood of his strong character.

Hear him from his conspicuous place on this floor, February 8, 1915:

> I am for America—our America—above all the world. The kind of men we need now and always need are men who stand uncompromisingly for America and American rights. * * * I care little for the opinions of American citizens who are not first and always really, truly, bravely American.

In the public service for nearly 50 years, to his country and his country's cause he gave himself—justifying the application of Paul's tribute to the Macedonian church: "They first gave themselves."

The words of Addison's Cato can well be applied to our friend:

> 'Tis not in mortals to command success;
> But we'll do more, Sempronious—we'll deserve it.

And by his character and life he established such a relation between the soul and the Soul Maker that he was prepared when the summons came to pass into the undiscovered future without dread.

Address of Mr. Myers, of Montana

Mr. President: It was my good fortune the greater part of my life to know Hon. William Joel Stone, and during all of my life, from childhood, I heard and knew very much of him and about him. It was my good fortune to be born and to grow to manhood in the State to which Senator Stone rendered unusual service and brought signal distinction, the State of Missouri. We had very close mutual ties. There were those who were related to me who were among his lifelong supporters, ardent admirers, and close associates, and who were ever very loyal to him and who actively and earnestly supported him in every political contest in which he ever engaged which involved more territory than the county of his residence; effectively supported him in every political contest after he had ably filled the office of prosecuting attorney of his county and had branched out into a larger field of political activity. For years the name of Senator Stone was a household word in my father's family. As boy and young man in Missouri, I often heard him on the stump and delighted to hear him expound democracy. His fearlessness and earnestness charmed me.

I remember when, as a young man, he was first nominated for and elected to Congress, I being then a boy. When he was first nominated for Representative in Congress I heard it said that he had a brilliant future and that he would make his mark as one of the ablest public men Missouri had ever possessed. He was then in the prime of vigorous young manhood and had already attracted to himself and drawn in his train an ardent and enthusiastic band of loyal, devoted personal and political followers who never abandoned him but who stayed with him, faithful and true, through every political contest of

his life. When first nominated for Representative in Congress he had acquired a reputation as an orator, student, and statesman which bespoke for him a brilliant career. He was then the pride of those who followed his plume in the arena of political combat.

When Senator Stone was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor of Missouri I was a voter and resident of that State and I supported him for the nomination and at the election. I voted for him in the primary and at the general election. He was my choice. By that time I knew him personally and was an ardent admirer of him, as man and statesman; admired his ability, fearlessness, democracy, devotion to principle, and leadership; and admired him for all those qualities which made him a renowned leader of men and valued champion of democracy.

In those days and for many years Senator Stone was the idol of Missouri Democrats. He had their admiration, love, and adoration. They trusted in him and looked up to him. They looked to him for leadership. The mantle of the renowned and departed Hon. George G. Vest as leader of the Democrats of Missouri fell upon Senator Stone. He was almost worshiped by his followers.

Senator Stone had the remarkable faculty of drawing to him great numbers of enthusiastic, devoted followers, and of grappling to him with hooks of steel a great many very devoted and unswerving personal and political friends. He was a man of magnetic personality. As a rule, his friends stayed with him. In that respect he was signally marked as a leader of men.

When I entered the United States Senate Senator Stone had been a distinguished Member of this body for quite a number of years and had a national reputation. I was received by him with the greatest kindness. He welcomed my entrance into the Senate with marked warmth and

cordiality, and when I was new here he showed me many acts of kindness and consideration. He did very much to make it pleasant and agreeable for me here. Our personal relations were always of the most cordial and agreeable character. During my service here, until the demise of Senator STONE, I was fortunate in seeing a good deal of him and enjoyed personal association with him to a considerable degree. I often consulted him. Our relations were fairly intimate, and I enjoyed my association with him. At times I very sharply differed with him about matters of public policy and national welfare, but that never disturbed our uniformly pleasant relations nor my friendly regard for him.

I always admired Senator STONE's intense devotion to his political party and its principles. Politically he was an intense partisan, and I always admired him for it. He was a Democrat because he believed with great intensity and fervor in the principles of the Democratic Party, and he adhered to them, championed them, and supported them on all occasions with an earnestness, enthusiasm, and devotion which drew my strongest admiration. He believed implicitly in the virtue of his party and never hesitated to array himself on its side as a devoted partisan. His intense fidelity to party principle was, to my mind, most admirable. He was more partisan, I admit, than I, but I esteemed him for it.

Senator STONE was a hard fighter. He never slackened nor wavered in fighting for what he believed to be right. He was an incessant fighter for the principles of his party, believing them to be the true principles of government for a self-governing people. Believing the success of his party meant the good and welfare of all the people, he fought for the success of his party in season and out of season. There was never any doubt about where to place him in party matters. This I considered a most com-

mendable trait, for he stood for that which he firmly believed to be right and best.

Senator STONE was one of the bravest men whom I ever knew; brave mentally, morally, and physically. Absolutely, he did not seem to know what fear was in any sense of the word. He would defy anything or anybody if he thought he was in the right. His fearlessness was one of his distinguishing traits all of his life, and it had much to do with drawing to him that devoted band of followers and supporters, always back of him and standing with him, ever faithful and loyal.

Senator STONE rendered distinguished service to his State and Nation. He was one of Missouri's foremost characters, one of the Nation's great men. He accomplished much and leaves much good work behind him. To his family he leaves a splendid heritage, to his host of devoted friends a fond memory, to his State a career of usefulness, to his country nation-wide fame. He had some great qualities. As statesman, student, scholar, publicist, he had real ability and great accomplishments.

Senator STONE was an outspoken man. He never hesitated to speak out what was in him. It was a matter of comfort to many of his friends, of whom I counted myself one, that in his last illness he professed faith in and reliance upon the saving grace of his Redeemer and looked forward to eternal life with his Maker. Farewell to him, but not to his memory. I take this occasion to discharge a sad duty, to exercise an estimable privilege in paying an humble tribute to his worth and testifying to the pleasant relations that always existed between us. May it be well with his soul.

Address of Mr. Smith, of Georgia

Mr. President: All who knew Senator Stone will appreciate the splendid tributes that have been paid here to-day to his worth, because they will realize that the tributes were deserved.

The entire Nation recognized his great ability. The Senate realized his power upon the floor of this Chamber, his brilliancy and his logic.

Those who served with him in committees found him there tireless, painstaking, and wise. For nearly six years I served with him on the Finance Committee, the detailed labors of which are great. No item of revenue bills escaped his scrutiny, and at all times it was his earnest desire to let the tax burdens fall where they could be borne with the least trial; at all times it was his thought to see how the less fortunate in life might have their burdens lightened rather than increased.

I had the privilege for several years of rooming just across the hall from him in the Senate Office Building, and I frequently saw him. If I were asked from my personal association with him to name his two most controlling characteristics I would say, in addition to his mental power, that they were his courage and his love. I do not believe Senator Stone knew what fear was; he was unconscious of physical fear, and he had no fear of consequences to himself as a result of his conduct. He was moved always with the earnest purpose of determining what he ought to do, controlled by his judgment, led by his love. If ever swayed from his mental judgment it was by his love.

He loved Missouri and he loved all the people of Missouri. He loved his country and he loved the people of his country. He loved his immediate family with a ten-

derness and gentleness that would have adorned the character of a woman. He was checked at times in his mental action by his love and by his unwillingness to cause sorrow or distress to those whom he loved.

Senator STONE was honest to an extreme degree. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hitchcock] has referred to the fact that he made sacrifices for his public service. He could have been a man with great income at the bar, but he gave his time to the public service rather than to the accumulation of worldly goods for himself; and in all of his long career in the public service never a time did he think of a place where he might make something financially for himself. The subject of financial gain for himself never touched his life.

Mr. President, I feel excused for mentioning a little incident that touched me very much, which occurred when I was riding out home with him within about 12 months of his death. We lived in the same section of this city, and frequently he rode out with me in my machine or I rode out with him in his. One evening, as we were riding home, with a glow of delight all over his face, he pulled a little piece of paper out of his pocket and said, "This is a receipt for the premium on my life insurance policy." He put it back in his pocket and called the name of his wife, whom he loved so tenderly, and said: "The reason I am so pleased that I have paid it is that it makes me know she will have this sum if I am called away. While I am here I can provide for her, but this gives her something if I am called." The amount was not very large, but it was pathetic to hear this man of powerful intellect, who could have done so much for himself in a financial way and for his family if he had turned his thoughts and talents in such a direction, filled with joy that this conservative-sized policy was to guarantee to the partner of

his trials and his joys some little comfort when he was gone.

I saw Senator STONE a number of times when he was taking the course which was perhaps the greatest trial of his life. I had known for 12 months before that period how earnestly he desired that his country might escape from embroilment in the European slaughterhouse. When the time came that most of us felt we could remain out of the war no longer, when the overwhelming sentiment of the country justified the action that brought us into the war with the German Empire, I talked freely with Senator STONE and urged him to vote with us. I pressed it on him; I tried to show him that it was his duty to himself and to his associates. I knew perfectly what controlled him. He talked with freedom about it. Up to the last I plead with him. He simply said: "I see what it means—billions of debts burdened upon the people whom I love; and, worse than that, perhaps millions of our boys lost in France. We can not go into this war without really going into it." He continued: "If I could give my life and have the sacrifice end there, I would not hesitate a moment; but it is all these sons of mothers throughout the land. I can not but feel that something can be done to save these mothers' sons."

It was his love for his people. If he could have laid down his own life he would have done so without a moment's hesitation, but it was the lives of others and the sorrow that was to be produced that caused him to take the position which he did. But the moment the decision was made and the war was begun, on every possible occasion he stood in his place in the Senate and supported his country in every possible way. Others cast the die; it had to be; then all that he could do to help to whip the enemy and win the war he gave with entire freedom and

thoroughness. That he should have been criticized was natural; that he would be criticized he knew; none understood it better than he; but it never moved him a particle. That vote was controlled by his intense love for his people, whom he would have spared, if he could, the trials of war.

He was a great man; a great intellect; but, again I say, the two controlling powers of his life were his courage and his love.

Address of Mr. Bankhead, of Alabama

Mr. President: When I came to Washington as a Member of the Fiftieth Congress one of my first acquaintances was William Joel Stone, who had served in the Forty-ninth Congress. This acquaintanceship ripened quickly into a friendship of such enduring qualities as to weather and overcome the vicissitudes of a long life.

When Mr. Stone resigned his seat in the House of Representatives to accept the governorship of the great State of Missouri I was enabled, through a continuous correspondence, to keep in the most intimate touch with him. When, as the successor of the great George Vest, Gov. Stone returned to Washington and took his place in the Senate our daily personal relationship, after an interregnum of only a few years, was resumed. Later, as successor to John Tyler Morgan, whom all Alabamians are wont to call "our greatest," and who with dignity and rare wisdom for so many years graced this Chamber, I entered upon a service in the Senate. From that moment until death placed its icy fingers on his heart I was in closest, most intimate association with the man of whom to-day we speak.

As a result of this long and unvarying friendship I can qualify as a witness who knew him well; and as such it is not so much my function to recite the biographical and chronological events and incidents of what was truly a great career as to bespeak very briefly and very generally the real merits of a mind and soul which so incontrovertibly affected the destiny of our country.

It is my conclusion, expressed not with the temperamental consideration with which one regards the dead, but in solemn, stern sincerity, that Stone was one of those mortals in whom the elements so mixed as to produce a

great man. His gift for adroit leadership came of a keen and discriminating intellect, radiating in his speech and action the resiliency of a remarkable mind, and of a deep-seated, ever-abiding vision which gave him uncanny prescience of how the operations of to-day would affect the destiny of to-morrow. And thus it has happened that less ably equipped men have declared in one instant that STONE by a speech or a subtle move on the political checkerboard had wrecked the entire fabric of things; in the next, with the full light of successful issue glowing, they have acclaimed him a strategist of the most excellent talent.

As a rival manager of a presidential aspirant in the Baltimore convention of 1912 I was constantly aware of the subtle genius of Senator STONE—a genius which but for unexpected and unparalleled defection in his own ranks would have carved out a notable victory. But when one weighs the relative merits of mind and heart, that genius can not be compared to that fidelity to trust, that allegiance to duty, which prompted him to submerge and subdue his own great disappointment and assume the post of confidential leadership in the victor's administration. For four years, with unvarying faith, he piloted the President's legislation through this body, and at the end of that time he was found preparing a platform of such appealing parts that the people of the Nation, won by the spirit of humanity it breathed, were happily induced to give the President a second term.

Senator STONE, being a man of purpose, was necessarily a man of opinion. As such at certain intervals he found it necessary to think and act for himself. Nothing so aptly indicates the sincerity of a man as, when driven by honest purpose, he leaves the primrose path of least resistance and, bereft of former friends, trudges the rocky road of conviction. And yet such is perverse nature that

it is against this very type of man that the world, forgetful of past service and the certainty of honest differences, turns and inveighs with scorn and contumely.

Senator STONE in the very twilight of his long service shared this common fate. When he declined to lead the fight for the so-called "armed neutrality" bill he was made the target for the darts of learned critics bursting with the force of their own erudition—innumerable darts tipped with the venom of ridicule, abuse, and slander. And yet, while the storm raged, we who knew STONE and who differed with him knew also that according to his conviction he was right, and that, irrespective of the fate prepared, he could have pursued no other course with honor to himself.

For my part, I know that he had reached his conclusion after long contemplation; that he took the unpopular side when on the other great prestige might easily have been gained only because of honest and sincere conviction that the unpopular side was in that emergency the side of right and justice. And, Mr. President, permit me in this day, when the passion of that day has subsided, solemnly to express the opinion that much of that bitter criticism directed at Senator STONE was unjust, unkind, and even cruel. And from knowledge of the man I bring testimony that that serenity of countenance—misinterpreted as indifference—which distinguished him in that trying moment was nothing more or less than a manifestation of a resignation which perfectly concealed an inward and permanent hurt.

He was as some grim stone of the sea on whose surface a raging tempest made impress, but whose base it could not cause to tremble or its parts to disintegrate.

Mr. President, I am very grateful to a Providence which has made it possible for me thus to speak of my friend, who has gone into that peace which surpasses understanding.

Address of Mr. Thomas, of Colorado

Mr. President: For five and twenty years my relations with William Joel Stone were close and cordial. We were intimate and affectionate friends. He was governor of the great State of Missouri when I first met him. Grover Cleveland had just entered upon his second presidential term. Economic and financial conditions were sinister and the atmosphere was heavy with portents of an approaching financial earthquake. And the President's well-known disapproval of his party's sentiments, emphasized by his aloofness from the influence and cooperation of its leaders and statesmen, justified their apprehension of an impending political cataclysm.

The crisis came in June with the closure of the Indian mints to the coinage of the silver rupee. Within a very few days thereafter Gov. Stone delivered a masterly address upon the situation. It clearly analyzed the causes and foretold the consequences of the panic should these causes be ignored or misunderstood and the remedies they plainly outlined be rejected. His message to the people was that of a clear-visioned, farseeing statesman. They hailed it as the voice of a skilled navigator to the pilot, counseling a course that would rob the storm of its perils and lay the Nation to its ancient ways. But the hopes of the people were turned to ashes of disappointment, and the voice of Stone became as that of one crying in the wilderness. The storm descended; the commander pursued his stubborn, unyielding course, and overwhelmed his country in measureless disaster.

I met Gov. Stone very shortly after this incident, and hastened to express my gratitude for what I conceived to be an incalculable service to the public. He was then seriously concerned for the immediate future, a concern

that was for the country. I early discovered what many of his countrymen questioned in after years, that Gov. STONE was a patriot in the highest and best sense of that much-abused and frequently misunderstood term. He was a radical and uncompromising partisan, but his country, her welfare, her interests, as he understood them, was the influence which above all others commanded his affection and inspired his conduct. His view of service, of her policy, her interest, and her duty might subject him to reproach and obloquy, but they were the fruit of his anxious and deliberate reflective judgment. They might be wrong, but they were his, and he maintained them with all the vigor of courageous conviction. Abuse and misunderstanding might subject him to the denunciation of popular clamor and the rebuke of statesmen, cajolery and persuasion might join with threat and vituperation to force his reluctant hand, but he would bear them all with serene fortitude and with the confidence of certain, though tardy, approval. Failing that, he could go his way unto the end, though he might travel barefooted and alone.

I shall not review the long record of Senator STONE's public service. Others have done that and done it well. It was a full and an honorable one—not perfect, for that is never humanly possible. He made mistakes, and they were broad ones, in keeping with his nature and breadth of vision. They were not the result of impulse, but of earnest and continued reflection.

His view of America's attitude toward the great war was in the first half of its bloody course unquestionably that of the overwhelming majority of his countrymen, who shrank from the ordeal of a world conflict with all the intensity of an enlightened peace-loving people. Nothing save Germany's insensate disregard for neutrals and neutral rights, exemplified many times in acts of

apalling horror and unmindful of repeated warnings, could have involved us.

The crisis finally came with her resumption of indiscriminate submarine warfare, followed by the President's request for authority to arm our merchant ships for defense against this deadly form of national piracy. Senator Stone was opposed to granting the desired authority. He felt that the allies had transgressed our rights as a neutral power quite as frequently and as flagrantly as had Germany, and that the proposed measure would precipitate a war which might yet be avoided without dishonor. No request for additional authority to deal with the allied invasions of our sovereignty had been made and none should be granted in the pending instance. He therefore protested and spoke against the joint resolution clothing the Executive with the desired power. The two situations were, to my mind, fundamentally different. He did not think so, and he gave his reasons at length to the Senate at a time when the Congress was rapidly nearing its close. For this he was unsparingly denounced by a vigorous and vindictive chorus of disapproval, whose echoes had not ceased when he passed away. He was accused of filibustering against the resolution. The fact that he spoke against it for nearly three hours, and that the Congress expired before a vote could be reached, gave strong color to the charge. Yet, knowing Senator Stone so well, I feel justified in saying, as I said many times while he was living, that he had no such purpose. He felt bound to give his reasons for his position, and, as he always did on occasions of unusual importance, he prepared himself thoroughly and in writing. He was very deliberate in speech; at times painfully so. Except on rare occasions of great excitement, he never hurried. Such a man always requires time for delivery. And Senator Stone, without a thought of the fleeting moments and the rapid

approach of the fateful 4th of March, pursued his usual way. It was unfortunate, since the public condemnation was somewhat justified and, protests to the contrary, unavailing.

But he made no protest. He bore the consequences and met the storm without flinching. Consistently with his view, he cast his vote in the following April against the declaration of a state of war with Germany. The friends who knew him well deplored the fact, while expecting nothing else from a man who seldom changed his convictions once they were fully formed. While I regretted the Senator's dissenting vote, I could, from my own experiences of the Civil War, understand his point of view.

During that conflict we were both boys living in the South, and face to face with all its seamy sides. We knew what war meant. We had been made rudely and daily familiar with its carnage, its waste, its terror, and its destruction. We could recall the long lists of casualties; the endless processions of the dead; the hordes of armless, legless, blind, and mutilated survivors of the battle fields; the black badge of universal mourning; the agony of widowed hearts and the tears of orphaned children. We could visualize the returning skeletons of want and hunger, the destruction of cities, the laying waste of the country and the pillage of the harvests, the hordes of refugees fleeing from the pathway of advancing armies, the thunder of the guns, and the shouting. I knew that he shrank with horror from the reinfliction of war's curse upon his country, and I would have given my life willingly on that fateful 6th of April, did the sacrifice avail, to spare the Nation the agony of another war. But it had to come. We could neither stay nor avoid it. The progress of the world had garnered its seeds within her bosom. They were to germinate, to ripen, and be harvested, even as others now dimly

perceived shall grow and be garnered in the fullness of time.

War having been declared, Senator Stone accepted the cast of the die and gave the Government his constant and unfailing support. He voted supplies and men, contributed of his modest substance to war loans, and devoted all his energies while he lived to its vigorous and successful prosecution. He died when the great German offensive of last spring had reached its farthest advance, when Paris laid almost at the Kaiser's feet, and Haig's indomitable Britons, with their backs to the wall, were slowly yielding to his terrific onset for the Channel ports. The allied reverses of the month preceding his death wrung his heart and filled his mind with anxious forebodings. Doubtless the strain they imposed upon his weakened energies was a contributing cause to his sudden death.

Senator Stone was one of the most powerful intellects of his generation, one of the strongest men who ever occupied a seat in this body. His slow and deliberate speech was in direct contrast to the rapidity of his mental processes. He saw all sides of every problem and, with rare powers of analysis, would quickly resolve it into its most prominent elements. He was a competent judge of men. He was a born political strategist, a debater of the highest order, and one of the most eloquent of men. His voice was clear and penetrating, his words well chosen, his diction perfect. But he was at his best only when absorbed by the ardor of conflict. His talent for controversial discussion needed the stimulus of active, if not extreme, opposition. When thoroughly aroused all his faculties were enlisted, and well he knew how and where to direct them. It was no surprise to those who knew him well that as a candidate soliciting the support of his people he never had been beaten.

The convention of 1896 blazed a new pathway for the Democratic Party. Rightly or wrongly, it wrote a declaration of principles whose advocacy meant aggression. It was no longer defensive or apologetic. That it would rend the party asunder was inevitable. That it would be immediately successful was only possible. That it committed the party to a new and radical propaganda, which it must thereafter acknowledge whether it would or no, was beyond question.

Gov. STONE was the chairman of the Missouri delegation to that convention, charged with the duty of securing the nomination of the Hon. Richard P. Bland for the Presidency. He did not accomplish that, for the unexpected happened; but he did more to shape the course and mold the proceedings of that great convention than any other member of it. If Bryan was its apotheosis, STONE was its soul incarnate. His influence was in the very atmosphere of the committees through which its course was directed. Yet there was no assumption of leadership, no assertion of authority, no contentious wrangling for position. Quietly, constantly, persuasively, and effectively he moved past obstacles, overcame difficulties, compromised differences, and suppressed resentments. It was a turbulent assemblage, where passion flamed high and opposition countered hard upon every subject involved in its deliberations, where crimination and recrimination thrust and parried from its commencement to its close. Through the maze of its bitter contentions and animosities the hand of Gov. STONE guided the majority safely and steadily to its goal of ultimate accomplishment. As one of his modest aids on that historic occasion, I here pay my tribute to his consummate powers of leadership and organization. A noted public man before, he now became a national figure and so remained until his death.

Had he devoted himself to his profession Senator Stone would have been a great lawyer. A mind lured by the attractions of material success would have chosen the bar instead of the forum. But he was indifferent to the enticements of fortune. He died a poor man. That was once the signal distinction of a public official. It is still a most honorable one when the official begins his career without fortune. He lived well and modestly, content with the companionship of wife and children, whom he loved and who loved him in turn. His domestic life was singularly felicitous. Within the charmed circle of his home, companioned by a wife the gentleness and refinement of whose character shone through her countenance with the soft radiance of a spiritual beauty which time's effacing fingers can never destroy, and blessed with the affection of their children, he found all the joys that a resentful world would have denied him. His heart, his affections, his hopes, and his fears were centered at his hearthstone. He has gone, but the record of what he did and what he was remains. By that he will be judged, and judged correctly, when the excitements of a world conflict shall have subsided and passion no longer warps or obscures the opinions, when men, clear visioned and deliberate, can with impartial justice review events and careers in the far perspective of receding years.

Address of Mr. Gore, of Oklahoma

Mr. President: It is not my intention to discuss the life or to detail the public services of our distinguished and lamented colleague. That labor of love has been done by those who knew him longer than it was either my privilege or my pleasure to know him.

I desire to pay a word of tribute to one or two of his most distinguishing virtues and to call attention to one or two of the most distinguishing traits of his character. In what I shall say I do not mean to institute any comparison between physical and moral courage. Each has its value, but they have such different standards of value that no true comparison can be drawn. Physical courage is the more common and may therefore be regarded as the more elemental. Moral courage is the less common, but it can not be regarded as the less admirable virtue.

Physical courage is all but universal in the kingdom of animal life. It is one of the commonest traits that flesh is heir to. We can almost discern traces of physical bravery in the protoplasm, in the stuff that life is made of. We can mark it alike in the cell as well as in the conquering hero. The microscope reveals deeds of desperate daring even among the denizens of the dewdrop. Physical courage is exhibited among the embattled ants. It is exhibited by the tigress of the jungle as she prowls for prey. It is displayed by the timorous bird as she defends her nestlings with her life. It was exhibited by the dragons of the prime as they tore each other in their slime. The lion of the desert may be as indifferent to danger and as insensible to fear as a Richard of the Lion Heart.

Physical bravery springs from instinct rather than reason. Indeed, it comes from elemental instinct. It is the essence out of which comes the first law of nature.

To our finite vision it does not seem to be at all times scrupulous as to the character of its cause.

We love to believe that "he is thrice armed who hath his quarrel just," and yet by our standard no quarrel is so unjust that may not find champions and defenders willing to sacrifice their lives. This was ever so. We find the savage of the forest quite as willing to die in battle as the phalanx of Greece or the legions of Rome.

Upon the battle field of Chalons the Europeans and the Asiatics joined issue as to which race should control the destinies of western Europe. The Hun and the European died with equal desperation. Upon the bloody field of Tours the Christian and the Mohammedan submitted their issue to the wager of battle. There they determined which religion should prevail over the future destinies of western Europe; the followers of the Cross and the followers of the Crescent fought and fell with equal devotion.

In the wilderness of this western world men of English blood laid down their lives to vindicate the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. On the other hand, men of English blood laid down their lives to prevent the establishment of this free, this self-governing Republic.

I say this to prove that every cause may find its champions. I repeat that the despot has been able to find followers who would sacrifice their lives to perpetuate their own chains.

In vindicating the principles of freedom our fathers laid down their lives in the noblest cause that can challenge the sacrifices of human nature. The principles typified by the Stars and Stripes have never called in vain for champions or defenders. Those principles will never call in vain for champions or defenders so long as valor is esteemed a virtue and so long as heroism is honored among the sons of men. In defense of these principles the

undying dead have sought for death, as the bridegroom seeks his bride, and yet with equal alacrity the followers and the minions of tyranny gone to their graves to establish or to perpetuate the reign of the tyrant, the sway of the despot, and the dominion of the autocrat. This is not strange. This is no mystery.

I repeat that physical bravery springs out of elemental instinct. It is one of the conditions of existence. It is the condition of survival. All existing generations of every existing species is the survival of long uncounted centuries of strife and struggle. These are the survivors. They are those who have passed through the crucible of unmitigated strife. In the supreme test the weakling, the coward, the parasite, as a rule, has perished by the wayside. This is the law of the Yukon—that only the strong shall thrive, that surely the weak shall perish, and only the fit survive. This at least was the law of the earlier ages of strife and of combat.

This law may have been in some measure modified by the improving principles of humanity and of civilization, and yet its reminiscences are seen repeated in the history of the race.

Moral courage is one of the rarest, one of the finest, I may say one of the divinest, attributes of God's image upon earth. Physical courage characterizes both "man and bird and beast." In its earlier stages it obeys necessity or responds to desire. It does not always, even in its later stages, distinguish between "the worse and the better cause." Moral courage characterizes rational beings alone, but, unfortunately, even among these it is not universal. It distinguishes between right and wrong and never wittingly prefers the worse to the better cause. Moral courage obeys the still small voice of conscience for conscience' sake. Moral courage obeys the behest of duty

for duty's sake. Moral courage is alike indifferent to the hiss of the rabble and the applause of the multitude.

Physical courage may find reenforcement in the psychology of the crowd, in the psychology of the mob, but moral courage would rather be right than popular. Moral courage will not consent to be wrong in order to purchase a cheap and transient popularity. Moral courage is indifferent alike to the hisses of the mob and to the threats and the frowns of the mighty. Moral courage is indifferent to the temptations and to the blandishments of power. Moral courage never seeks the line of no resistance; moral courage never seeks the line of least resistance. Moral courage goes where the voice of duty commands.

Whatever be your faith, let me cite a crucial and historic instance. Peter denied his Master once, twice, and thrice before the crowing of the cock. He denied his Master rather than submit himself to the jeers of the accusing crowd. He declared that he never knew the Man. On the other hand, his Master accepted without complaint the agonies alike of Gethsemane and of Calvary. History has pronounced judgment upon these exhibitions of moral courage. It must always be the temper and must often be the fate of moral courage to drink the hemlock and to wear the crown of thorns. Indeed, sir, I do not know but that the crown of thorns is the official diadem of moral heroism.

There were many ties which bound me to our late and lamented friend and which bind me to cherish his memory. I use the word "friend" in the highest sense of that most sacred term. He knew both the art and the philosophy of friendship, which was to prove himself a friend. His followers loved him for his undoubted and undeviating fidelity. His antagonists honored him for his undaunted and undeviating chivalry.

I admired his talents and I honored his public services. He was a practical man; he was a practical statesman. He never lost sight of the elementary needs of men, yet he never forgot the elementary rights of free men. To preserve and perpetuate those rights he was equal to the supremest sacrifice, even to the transient sacrifice of his fair name among those who for the moment misunderstood.

"Without turning," he always stood for freedom of thought. He always stood for freedom of speech. He always stood for the freedom of the press—a freedom which was used, which was abused, by some to misrepresent if not to slay him.

I honored him for his moral heroism when occasion called for the exhibition of moral courage. Most of all, I honored him because he was among the few men who dare to speak truth to the people in the presence of the king, and dare to speak truth to the king in the presence of the people.

Address of Mr. Reed, of Missouri

Mr. President: I can add nothing to what has been said of Senator Stone, so eloquently, so tenderly, and so sincerely said, for I know well that all who have spoken voiced the sentiments of their hearts.

This man was my friend, the dearest friend I ever had. I have tested his mettle. I have looked into his heart. I have seen his soul. He was as tender a husband, as loving a father, as sincere a friend, as chivalric a gentleman as you will ever meet. He was as wise a man as I ever knew; he was as brave a man as I ever knew; he was as patriotic a man as ever lived and walked this earth.

All his life he gave to his country. He was not an office seeker, selfishly striving to gain the power or emoluments of position. He was a soldier, who on the battle field of the world enlisted for life in the service of mankind.

Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of public servants, perhaps I should say of officeholders. There is a class who climb to public position by any ladder that their feet can touch and who, once seated in a place of power, seek only to maintain it for their selfish profit. These men, having gained position, put ear to ground that they may catch each rumble of popular opinion. They study not the safety of the State. They think alone of how they may keep safe the place they hold.

What an easy, lazy, selfish task to sit serenely and to never ask "What is the right?" "What does my country need?" but "What is best for me, that I, forsooth, may cling to power, gathering the loaves and fishes of the place I have?"

Such men as I am now discussing frequently secure the very acme of public praise. Forever drifting with the stream, their course is without opposition, and they enjoy the tranquillity of uselessness. We find them basking in

the sun. They, therefore, never feel the chill of adverse winds. As they are but the echo of the crowd, its generous applause rings constant in their ears. Such a course requires neither courage nor talent. A fair ability to guess what may for the brief hour be popular is all that is required. They do not serve the State, humanity, or God; they serve themselves alone.

But there are others, sir, and happily many, who place the call of duty above all selfish ends. We find them everywhere. The faithful servitor in private life who thinks more of his master's welfare than of the dollars he is paid. Such service is beyond a money price. The faithful officer of the country who makes its interest paramount and to it gives the best energies of his life. Such men are guardians of the portals of the State. There also is the man who, filling a great post of public trust, thinks only of what his duty is, who does not pause to count the cost to his poor self, but, keeping mind and eye fixed on the stars of justice and of truth, steers the straight course of honor. Such a man is statesman, friend of country and humanity, and such alone do serve their country well.

It has been well said here to-day how absolutely Senator STONE devoted his life to public service. Notwithstanding the fact that his conspicuous abilities as a lawyer rendered his career at the bar one certain of the most brilliant achievements, he early abandoned that lucrative profession to serve his country in the Congress. I shall, in the sketch of his life later to be presented, call attention to his activities in the House of Representatives. I characterize them now by one statement: His every vote as a Member of the House of Representatives may be examined, his every speech may be read, and there is not one vote that was not cast, there is not one speech that was not made, in defense of the plain, common people of

this land, in support of our country's rights, in vindication of those great, fundamental principles of democracy and of republicanism that have made this country the land of freedom, progress, and happiness.

From his fight to recover for our Government the lands that thieves had stolen by the hundreds of thousands of acres, on through his career in the House his every act, his every vote, his every thought was upon the side of the people of the United States. No menacing power of wealth, no sinister influence, no consideration of self ever caused him to swerve a hair's breadth from the plain, straight path of duty to his country.

He became governor of the State of Missouri. Here I want to give to my associates a chapter out of his life which will show how long he suffered under unjust charges, under villainous criticism, and the causes for it.

With shame I say that my great State, like many other States of the Union, had in its legislative branch come too much within the influence of a corrupt railroad lobby. It was at that period when railroad officials conceived it to be their duty, or at least their interest, to seek to prevent legislation, however wholesome, by employing devious practices upon legislative bodies. Passes were handed out in great bales to legislators and their families. The railroad lobbyist was looked for by certain classes almost as the pay car by the regular employees of the railroad. It was under such conditions Senator STONE dared to demand that the Missouri Legislature should pass a fellow-servant bill which would abrogate the ancient and brutal common-law rule that an employee could not recover for injuries if they had been inflicted through the carelessness of a fellow servant. The defense that had been made in hundreds of thousands of lawsuits had left many a brave man's widow without a dollar to live upon. It had turned into the street as paupers thousands of orphans

whose fathers, in the effort to save the passengers drawn by their engines, heroically died at their posts of duty.

Seeing their ancient legal fortress impaired, the railroad lobby rallied. The struggle was intense, bitter, and relentless. In the end the lobby was powerful enough to defeat the bill. In a message sternly demanding that the lobby should not be permitted to influence legislative action Senator STONE again demanded the enactment of the bill. So bitter was his castigation of the methods employed that he incurred the personal enmity of the members of the lobby and all of its numerous and powerful allies.

It was because of this service for humanity and the State that he became the victim of their slander and their abuse, which ran to such supreme heights and was carried on with such illimitable vindictiveness that many men were led to believe the foul slanders that were coined in the hearts of the criminals against whom our revered friend had sought to protect the State he loved and served.

Most of the actors in that drama are dead and gone. I shall not further dwell upon the theme. In Missouri, where the real truth is known, the people understand that there is not a blot or stain upon the honorable and pure career of WILLIAM JOEL STONE. From his labors at last came the statute that gave relief against the hardships of the old common-law rule. By his sturdy blows the lobby and the corrupt elements that had infested our capital were given their first great defeat, a defeat which ultimately resulted in their extermination. When Gov. STONE engaged in that conflict he knew the cost; but then, as at all other times, he stood square fronted to the storm and did not for a moment flinch.

When he left the office of governor this man with these superb talents, who could have sold his time at any price,

was in debt thousands of dollars, without, I believe, a hundred dollars' worth of property of any kind.

He engaged for two or three years in the practice of law, and in that short period was able to pay off all the debts he owed and lay by what might almost have been a competence to some men. When he again entered the public service his little fortune melted away like snow before the sun. He served until the end of his life in this body and died so poor that substantially all he left to the family he loved was a little life insurance policy.

Briefly, let me refer to his labors as a Senator:

Men of the Senate, you have seen him toil unremittingly by day. You know how he labored in committees far into the night. When, some three years ago, the great finance bill was pressing, he undoubtedly broke his health by the tremendous labor he underwent. At that time he survived a sick spell that threatened to bring the end. He never was strong again; and yet he came to this body when he was so feeble that he could scarcely walk. He sat with his committees. He toiled and wrought unceasingly. Not a detail of duty was allowed to escape his vigilance and industry. And so, worn out and troubled, this old soldier serving a life enlistment in the army of patriotism, came to answer the question that has been so often referred to to-day, "Is it my duty to vote to plunge my country into the great European war or is it my duty to seek to hold her back?"

I know his heart on that. I talked with him. I said to him:

> It is the decree of fate; war will be declared. A vote against it will mean your political ruin. You are old and you have no property.

I wish—great God of justice, how I wish!—all the people of his State could have looked into his eyes as I was looking then and could have seen his soul as I saw it revealed

and could have heard his voice, tremulous with emotion, as he answered:

> I know what it means to me. I know this war is coming. I know the people are aflame with the spirit of battle. I know that it is inevitable; but would you have me consider my personal welfare in a case that involves the lives of millions of men, the heartaches of countless mothers, the breaking up of homes? I can not vote to send our boys into this conflict, to involve our country in this struggle, the end of which we can not see, and the results of which to our country and our civilization we can not prophecy. I can not so vote until further efforts have been made to avert the fearful sacrifices.

And so he cast his vote against the declaration of war.

Was it not a brave thing to do? Had he voted for war, he would not have been voting to send himself to war or into any danger. He would have been acclaimed a great leader. When he voted against war, he voted his own crucifixion for months; perhaps forever. Had he voted for war, he would not have voted to send his own son, for he was a distinguished Federal judge, beyond the age to be sent to war.

He would not have voted to send a single close personal relative so far as I know. He was not thinking of himself. He was thinking of the sons of other fathers, the grown-up "babies" of other mothers, the husbands of wives, the fathers of children who would die on distant battle fields. He was looking at the orphans that were to be, the army of cripples that would soon march across our land. He was thinking of our country and the dangers that lurked after the war as well as in the war.

So he endured the torture of attack, the obloquy of slander, the shafts of abuse, and stood up bravely and without shrinking. But as the war went on each day he gave his thought, his heart, his energy to the success of

the American Army. I say here what has already been, in substance, said, it was the grim advance of Germany's hosts that did much to break him down and to hasten the inevitable end. Day after day I was in his office, calling generally in the morning, finding him there almost invariably pacing the floor. In his hand a newspaper describing how the French were being driven back and back and how the gallant English were being forced to retreat; telling of assaults with poison gas and deadly shells that broke the heroic ranks of our allies and carpeted the ground with thousands of their gallant dead.

I saw him then and know how his soul agonized. I know how his body quivered with excitement and sympathy for our friends and for our cause. It was not hard then to discover that the old patriot and lover of his country could not longer withstand the agony. At last the strain became too great, the vital cord snapped. In the fullness of his intellectual power, at the zenith of his greatness, he halted. His work for country and for humanity had ceased.

There is no speech or tongue that can quite do justice to a life like his. Faithful to friends and true to every trust, through life's long battle he fronted every foe. His arm was never lowered in the strife. He never struck an unkind or ungenerous blow. He folded the mantle of honor about him and laid down upon life's battle field and sank into that peaceful slumber death brings the brave. There is no stain or taint upon his life, and at its end his friends and all the world can write, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

I present a brief sketch of the public service of Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE:

Senator STONE was a Member of the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses, his term beginning March 4, 1885, and closing March 4, 1891.

During his term in the House he was a member of the Public Lands Committee, of the Selective Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, and a selective committee appointed to investigate the labor troubles in Pennsylvania in 1888.

His work in Congress was principally identified with (1) public lands; (2) reformation of the civil service; (3) amendments to the Judicial Code, having in mind the restriction of jurisdiction of the then United States circuit court; (4) opposition to fraudulent pensions; (5) river and harbor improvement; (6) repeal of silver-purchase law; (7) tariff reduction; (8) opposition to the force bill.

(1) Public lands: His services in respect to public lands were in connection with two great measures. One of these measures, which was not introduced by him but in which he took a very prominent part, was the repeal of the then existing laws respecting the acquirement of public lands. At this particular time a vast amount of the land being preempted or taken under the different land laws was being fraudulently acquired. It was estimated by Land Office officials that all the way from 70 to 95 per cent of the entries were fraudulent. A large amount, literally hundreds of thousands of acres of valuable mineral, grazing, and timber lands were being thus accumulated by speculators in utter defiance of the wording and spirit of the land laws and, of course, to the detriment of the bona fide settler and entryman. The law in question, if adopted, would have had the double effect of protecting past frauds and making future fraudulent acts easy and safe. Against this proposition he fought during the entire three terms. His speeches upon this subject may be found in the Records of the Forty-ninth Congress, first session, page 7161; Forty-ninth Congress, second session, page 2023; Fiftieth Congress, first session, pages 5561,

5568, 5573, 5596, and 5606. They were models of research, logic, and forensic ability of the highest type.

The second measure affecting the public lands with which he was identified, and, in fact, the author, was a bill providing for the forfeiture by various railroads of land granted by the Government in aid of railway construction under certain conditions, which conditions had not been complied with by the railway companies. In other words, the return to the Government of donated land which had not been earned in accordance with the terms of the donation. These forfeiture bills involved something like 60,000,000 acres of land. After a fight which he led, lasting five years, the most of these laws were passed in substance and there was returned to the public domain approximately 60,000,000 acres for settlement, thus affording homes and farms for 375,000 settlers.

His speeches upon this matter may be found in the Records of the Fiftieth Congress, first session, pages 5436, 5439, 5440, and 7039–7044; Fiftieth Congress, second session, pages 2674–2676; Fifty-first Congress, first session, pages 7002–7012.

These speeches show the ability of a great lawyer, a profound reasoner, and give conclusive evidence of Senator STONE's hatred of everything tainted with unfairness or dishonesty. They brought him into national prominence. Changes in the land laws affecting Oklahoma public lands which would have made speculation and fraud easy: Fifty-first Congress, first session, pages 2210–2213, 2216, 2218.

(2) Restriction of United States courts: He had been very much impressed by the injustice of the imprisonment of county judges in Missouri who had refused to vote tax levies to pay the old fraudulent railway bonds. Two of the counties involved—Cass and St. Clair—were in his congressional district. He was impressed deeply with the

conviction that the United States courts, in issuing writs controlling the acts of State officials in their duties under State laws, were exceeding their constitutional powers and were breaking down the sovereignty of the State as guaranteed under the Constitution. He regarded it as of paramount importance to the welfare of the country that neither the National Government nor the States should be deprived of any of the powers granted in the Constitution. He believed that the tendency in the courts was toward a centralization of power and a crippling in an unwarranted and unconstitutional manner of the powers of the State. This he found exemplified in the change of the attitude by the Supreme Court of the United States in the matter of following the State court interpretation and construction of State laws and constitutions and in the writs issued to State officers as above. The latter evil had been brought, as I have said, vividly to his mind through the imprisonment of these county judges, who under the existing law were not only powerless to issue the orders levying the taxes in accordance with the judgment of the United States court but would have made themselves liable to heavy penalties had they done so. He therefore introduced a bill providing that "The jurisdiction of the district and circuit courts of the United States shall not be deemed to extend to any judicial or other officer elected or appointed under the laws of any State to compel by mandamus or other writ the performance by such officer of any official act arising under or authorized to be done by the laws of such State." Upon the 5th of January, 1886, he for the first time introduced bills. One of these was the above, affecting United States courts. In every session thereafter he introduced this same measure and fought for its adoption. The speeches made in support of it are powerful and seemingly unanswerable constitutional arguments; they may be found in the Record of the Forty-ninth

Congress, second session, page 1459, and the Fiftieth Congress, first session.

It may be of interest in this connection to say that, although unsuccessful in having this law adopted, he continued the fight during his term as governor, sending to the legislature a special message requesting the memorialization of Congress touching the matter and the passage of a law which would permit the governor, in any case where the county judge was incapacitated by imprisonment or otherwise to act, to appoint a commissioner to do any and only such specified acts as the governor might designate and who should remain in office only until those acts were performed. This recommendation passed the house of representatives but was killed in the State senate by what was denominated in the newspapers at that time as the "bondholders' friends."

(3) Fraudulent pensions: At the time he was serving in the House of Representatives a vast number of bills pensioning named persons were passed. This was done to such an extent that Friday night of each week was set aside and devoted to that purpose. Early in the first session of the Fifty-first Congress he began to oppose such of these bills as he regarded as fraudulent and unworthy. This opposition was unusual, startling, and daring, since it in a way challenged the opposition of the old soldier vote, of which vote he had a very large number in his district. The position he took in regard to these bills was that each claim should be carefully considered upon its merits, the worthy claims allowed and the unworthy disallowed. He undertook the enormous task of investigating the great number of these claims in detail, and so effective was his exposure of the fraudulent character of many of them that during that term, which was his last in the House, the evil was effectually abated. His position on these matters attracted wide attention all

over the country and, except from selfish or partisan sources, met with universal approval. Some of his remarks upon these matters may be found in the Record of the Fifty-first Congress, first session, pages 2502–2509, 2763, 2254–2259, 2773, 3012, 3516.

(4) River and harbor improvement: Beginning with his first session in Congress and extending through the time he was in the House of Representatives he vigorously opposed provisions in the river and harbor bill appropriating money for the improvement of inconsequential streams. His position upon such improvements was expressed in the following sentence:

> I would improve nothing by national legislation except important harbors and the important rivers of the country. (49th Cong., 2d sess., p. 921.)

His speeches upon this subject may be found in the Record, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, page 4246; Forty-ninth Congress, second session, page 920; Fiftieth Congress, first session, pages 3208, 3255, 3259–3261. The final part of the first speech made upon this subject, found in the Record, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, page 4246, is rich with rare humor and is well worthy to stand beside Proctor Knott's famous Duluth speech.

(5) Repeal of silver purchase law: At this time the United States Government purchased so much silver annually. During the terms he served the House there was a violent fight over the repeal of this law, which would have resulted in the total demonetization of silver. Upon this question he took a strong stand against the repeal of the purchase clause. The first speech he ever made in Congress was in opposition. The first sentence, so far as the Record shows, which he uttered in Congress was the beginning of this speech, as follows:

> Mr. Speaker, I take it that statesmanship is never directed to better purpose than when it aspires to make the great masses of people contented and happy. (49th Cong., 1st sess., p. 2603.)

His speeches upon this matter are found in the Record of the Forty-ninth Congress, first session, page 2603; Fifty-first Congress, first session, page 5807.

It was undoubtedly STONE's great influence which tipped the balance of Democratic opinion in favor of the ticket of free and unlimited coinage of silver. STONE was an ardent advocate of the nomination of Mr. Bland for President at the 1896 convention. Whatever may be the opinion as to the wisdom of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, it is now practically admitted that the interests of the country demanded an increased volume of money. It is not too much to say that whether or not free and unlimited coinage of silver was a correct principle it was a sounder doctrine than that the currency should remain stationary and contracted. This battle waged on behalf of the people undoubtedly brought good fruit in later years and did much toward the final currency and banking reform under which the Nation now prospers.

(6) Tariff reduction: He was at all times strongly in favor of a reduction of the tariff to a strictly revenue basis. His views upon that matter may be found in the Record, Fiftieth Congress, first session, pages 3856, 4869.

(7) Force bill: Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, was Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, and it was during that Congress the Republicans introduced and attempted to pass the infamous force bill, which contemplated the complete control of elections by Federal officials—military, if necessary. This bill was aimed to perpetuate in power the Republican Party by giving over the control of the South. No congressional measure in my memory has engendered the bitterness in congressional debate which this bill aroused. In both sessions of this Congress he made speeches against the bill. In the last of these speeches he did much to compass the defeat of the bill.

Lovers of forensic eloquence would do well to read that speech. It is found in the Record, Fifty-first Congress, second session, page 1211. The other speech is found in the Record, Fifty-first Congress, first session, page 6848.

Other matters of importance upon which he expressed himself were as follows:

(a) In connection with a bill providing for arbitration between interstate carriers and their employees he indorsed labor organization and advocated the ownership by the Government of railways and telegraphs. (Record, 49th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, p. 54.)

(b) He favored the irrigation of arid areas. (Record, 49th Cong., 2d sess., p. 8480.)

(c) He bitterly attacked "Czar" Reed's abuse of powers as Speaker of the House. (51st Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, p. 45.)

(d) He voted for and advocated an act prohibiting the importation and sale of convict-labor-made articles.

(e) The report, partially prepared by him, made by the selective committee on existing labor troubles in Pennsylvania in 1888 was such a thorough exposure of the unparalleled conditions of labor in that State that it attracted national attention and comment.

The distinguished services rendered by Mr. STONE as a Member of Congress made him the logical Democratic nominee for governor. He filled that important position from 1893 to 1897.

His entire administration was stormy and eventful. This was due partly from conditions affecting Missouri along with the entire country and partly from conditions peculiar to Missouri at that time. Among the former may be noted the financial stringency and panic and widespread labor disturbances on a great scale, including the American Railway Union strike and miners' strike. Among the latter conditions may be noted the marked re-

duction in the State revenues, the powerful railroad lobby which had control of the legislature, and frauds in elections in the big cities of the State.

The effect of the general nation-wide financial situation needs no comment.

There was widespread industrial discontent at the time, which included not only the railway and mine strikes noted above but the famous Coxey movement. The result of these disturbances was that the military arm of the State was called out in many States of the Union, including the three Missouri boundary States—Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. Although Missouri was a great railroad and a great mining State, and these disturbances were as powerful there as in other States, the situation was so controlled that disturbances were reduced to the minimum and at no time was it necessary to declare martial law at any point or to call out the State troops. This was the result, of course, of his firm but rational handling of the situation.

The reduction of the State revenue began about the first of his administration. Under the State constitution the rate of taxation for State purposes automatically changed from 20 to 15 mills when the assessed valuation reached $900,000,000. Up to the beginning of his administration the assessed valuation had been a few millions under $900,000,000, thus affording the maximum revenue. About the beginning of his administration it passed to a few million beyond the $900,000,000 mark, resulting in a loss of one-fourth of the tax rate with no compensating increase in the assessed valuation. Also, in 1892, just before the beginning of his term, the main building of the State University had burned, and during his administration the normal buildings at one of the normal schools had also been destroyed by fire. In the face of this financial condition the affairs of the State were so handled

that not only were all State needs met, repairs and additions to the eleemosynary and educational institutions made, including the present main building at the State University, but the State bonded debt was very materially decreased. At the beginning of his term this bonded debt amounted to $6,680,000, consisting of $1,380,000 at 6 per cent and $5,300,000 at 3½ per cent.

During this administration all of the 6 per cent bonds were paid off and $300,000 of the 3½ per cent bonds, thus reducing the bonded debt by $1,680,000, disposing of all of the higher per cent bonds and reducing the annual interest demand by almost $100,000. As important items in connection with this subject it may be said that the reduction of the annual revenue through the change of rate of taxation was about $500,000 and that during this time nearly $800,000 was expended in connection with additions and repairs at educational and eleemosynary institutions.

For years the railroad lobby had exercised a potential influence over the State legislature. The fight with this lobby began shortly after his induction into office through his attempt to have enacted a railway fellow-servants' law. The fight became bitter and personal, with the result that for the first time in many years the lobby was driven from power, and although they prevented the enaction of the fellow-servants' law during his administration his work had been so effective that it was forced through by the first legislature after he left office.

There had been prior to and during his term of office notorious election frauds in the large cities of the State. He urged and secured the passage of fair election laws which tended to minimize this evil.

He proved himself the friend of the public-school system of the State and a champion of the university, sending to the legislature a special message upon the latter

subject in which he favored the establishment of a substantial endowment fund. As stated in the discussion of his record in the House of Representatives, he sought to relieve the situation brought about in St. Clair and other counties by the imprisonment of the county judges, sending a special message to the legislature in that regard, advocating a memorial to Congress upon the subject, and a law empowering the Government to appoint a commissioner with special powers to carry on such parts of the duties of the county court as might be designated by the governor and which were necessary to prevent the paralysis of the affairs of the counties.

During his term as governor he took a very prominent part in State and national politics. Among the subjects in question to which he devoted himself was the silver question, with which you are familiar. Others were as follows:

During his term the American Protective Association reached the zenith of power. This was an organization whose sole purpose was to oppose the holding of public office by any Catholic. It introduced into politics the religious issue, and seems unquestionably, at least in Missouri, to have been allied with the Republican Party. It became very formidable and public men were careful in opposing it. He, however, declared vigorously against it, denouncing it in unmeasured terms as un-American and fighting it so effectively that the Democratic convention of 1894 adopted as a plank in its platform a denunciation of the organization. The fact that he was bitterly denounced for this action and received a great number of letters threatening his life had the, with him, natural result of increasing his opposition.

Out of all his speeches I am sure he would have me select for preservation here these words which he uttered in the Missouri campaign of 1894. He would desire to

have them preserved because he spoke them out of the fullness of his heart; because they mirrored his broad, generous soul and his true Americanism:

Thomas Jefferson was the father of the Democratic Party. On his tomb is an inscription which he had written for himself, "The author of the statute of religious freedom of the State of Virginia."

There are men within the hearing of my voice now, I doubt not, who recollect how the so-called Know-nothing Party rose up and became a political potentiality in the forties. Its objects were twofold—to deny the ballot to citizens born outside the United States and to Catholics the right to hold an office. And the first Democratic national convention, after this organization arose, denounced it as un-American, wrong in principle, as an attack upon the liberty of the individual and the integrity of our institutions. The Republican Party shortly afterwards nominated a President and Vice President and formulated a platform. But it said not one word in denunciation of that Know-nothing movement. It dodged the issue and said nothing. It has been prone to this policy ever since. Fellow citizens, that political party is not worth your vote or mine that hesitates to do right, no matter what comes of it.

I denounce this present know-nothing movement, this A. P. A., as our party has denounced it, because it is un-Democratic, un-American, and un-Christian. It is un-Democratic because it is inequitable and unjust. It is un-American because it is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that no religious test shall ever be required to the holding of public office. And a similar provision is written in the fundamental law of our own Commonwealth. Finally, I leave it with you all if it is not un-Christian. I do not speak to-night from the standpoint of a Catholic. I am not a Catholic. By birth, by marriage, by conviction I am a Protestant; I speak from the standpoint of an American citizen, a Democrat, and a man.

He championed the rights of the States and of local government.

He also advocated the construction of a deep waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf, with improvement of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

In September, 1894, in a speech at Carthage, he strongly advocated the popular election of United States Senators.

At the annual banquet of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation at Delmonico's in April, 1894, as guest of honor, he responded to the toast of "The Western Point of View." His speech was a eulogy of the greatness of the West, which he loved, and of the political and patriotic necessity of a combination of the West and South against the East to secure fair national treatment unless the East would recognize the situation and accord it. This speech attracted national attention and placed him among the presidential possibilities widely discussed.

Senator STONE'S career is fresh in the minds of those who meet to-day to pay respect to his memory. Nevertheless, for the sake of history, I shall very briefly review some of his principal acts in the Senate during the years he sat here in this Chamber exercising a potential influence upon public events.

WILLIAM J. STONE entered the Senate March 4, 1903, succeeding George Graham Vest, Missouri's renowned "Senator of two Republics," whose service in the United States Senate covered an eventful period of 18 years. It is well known in the political history of Missouri that Mr. STONE could have been elected to the Senate in 1897 upon his retirement from the governorship. It is known that he declined the overtures made by Democratic leaders in the legislature because of his profound respect for the towering abilities of Senator Vest and because he considered the distinguished services of Vest merited continued tenure in the Senate. It was not until Mr. Vest announced his forthcoming retirement that Gov. STONE consented to become a candidate for senatorial honors. He was elected by the legislature in January, 1903, following a caucus nomination of his own party, without opposition, his only opponent having withdrawn upon the eve of the ballot.

His senatorial career began with the special session of the Senate in the Fifty-eighth Congress, called in March, 1903, to consider the Cuban reciprocity treaty. His first entry into senatorial debate was on January 26, 1904, with an address upon the Panama Canal treaty concluded with the new-fledged Republic of Panama by the Roosevelt administration. The debates upon this treaty were largely conducted in the open Senate through the medium of resolutions touching the controversy presented by various Senators. Senator STONE drew the attention of his new colleagues by a clear, incisive discussion of the somewhat unusual features of the revolution out of which the new government had sprung. He supported the treaty, accepting the opportunity to advance the great canal project, of such great concern to Americans, but condemned the methods he believed to have preceded the separation of Panama from Colombia, urging a more liberal policy in dealing with the Latin American nations. His words upon this occasion were prophetic, suggestive of a new policy in our relations with Central and South American States, a policy now generally approved and accepted as both wise and just. Among other things, he said:

> The true policy of this Government with reference to the Republics south of us would lead us on different and higher lines. We should so comport ourselves as to inspire the confidence of our neighbors. They should not stand in dread of our power, but rely upon it as a shield for their protection. We should link them by bonds of mutual amity and interest. What boots the Monroe doctrine to them if it stands only to guard them against European aggression, while the door is open for us to invade at pleasure?
>
> If I could be potent in shaping our policy in this behalf, I would be governed by one supreme consideration—that of attracting the southern Republics to us by a course instinct with the spirit of candor, justice, and fair play. I would enter into such compacts with them as would promote our commercial relations and make them for all practical purposes, offensive and

defensive, a part of us. I would strive to inaugurate great republican policies of government—monetary, commercial, and political—common to all America, and these I would oppose, if need be, to the monarchical policies of the Old World.

Senator STONE received exceptionally good committee assignments, including places on the Commerce, Indian Affairs, Philippines, Public Buildings, and Education and Labor Committees, all active, important bodies. At that time, with the Indian problem in an acute stage, prior to statehood for Oklahoma and the Indian Territory, his assignment to the Indian Affairs Committee, of which he afterwards became chairman, was particularly important. Many thousands of Missourians were residents of the two Territories named, and these people naturally regarded Mr. STONE as their representative. Accordingly he took an active interest in all legislation dealing with the settlement of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes, sponsoring and advocating many constructive measures vital to the people of the Southwest. Among these were bills looking to the removal of restrictions upon the alienation of the surplus lands of full-fledged citizens; the control of the sale and leasing of mineral lands in the Territory so as to protect the Indian, prevent unscrupulous exploitation, and at the same time promote the legitimate development of a region of marvelous growth and prospect. He exposed and thwarted many designs of speculators and lobbyists who sought to profit at the expense of the Indian and this new country. Statehood was then the vital issue in the Territories, and, though not a member of the Territories Committee, he consistently advocated and voted for statehood, preferring separate statehood, but finally supporting the only possible measure that could be passed, under which Oklahoma was admitted into the Union. In connection with his consideration of the Indian problem he strongly supported the established policy of Congress and

the Government in suppressing the liquor traffic among the Indian tribes and was the author of the self-enforcing prohibitory provision afterwards incorporated into the Oklahoma constitution, known as the Gallinger-Stone amendment to the statehood enabling act.

Through his fight with the railroad lobby in Missouri he had become familiar with the evil effects of corporation activity in politics. He had succeeded in securing the adoption of a party declaration upon the subject by the Democratic national convention in 1900, which he wrote and championed. This declaration reads:

> Corporations should be protected in all their rights, and their legitimate interests ought to be respected, but any attempt to interfere with public affairs of the people or to control the sovereign which creates them ought to be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

During the last days of the Fifty-eighth Congress he delivered in the Senate a remarkable address upon the subject of campaign contributions by corporations and was one of the first to advocate stringent penalties for future offenses of this character. It has since been provided by law in practically every State and by Federal statute that no corporation can make contributions to committees or candidates. STONE was among the pioneers in urging such legislation.

He succeeded Senator Vest on the Commerce Committee, then, as now, dealing with waterway transportation projects of great consequence to the States touching the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers. During the early period of his service on this committee the policy of Congress respecting the upper Mississippi and the Missouri was distinctly unfavorable. Senator STONE began a long and for many years an apparently hopeless fight for a systematic improvement plan, adequately financed by congressional appropriations, covering both waterways.

This was before commercial bodies in the Mississippi Valley had undertaken extensive educational propaganda directed toward the development of public sentiment in sympathy with these projects. Many of the appropriations which maintained these two waterways upon even the most temporary basis during these years of determined opposition by potent factors in legislation in both Houses of Congress were due to the persistent and persuasive efforts of the Missouri Senator. Dealing with the haphazard method of river appropriations, he said in the Senate on February 27, 1907:

> Yet we wonder why the commerce on the river goes down, and why the capitalists of St. Louis do not invest in boats and barges for river navigation. There is neither justice nor reason in such a condition. A policy such as we are following creates uncertainty, destroys confidence, and retards the development of that immense commerce that would almost certainly follow if more assuring conditions prevailed.

He had the privilege of subsequently aiding in framing the provision of legislation which established permanent annual appropriations for the Missouri River and increased allotments to the upper Mississippi. At all times he was an ardent advocate of the project known as the Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway.

In his service upon the Commerce Committee he became a close student of the national shipping problem and was always a staunch advocate of liberal treatment of American shipping. More than once he advocated in the Senate repeal of the restrictive navigation laws, which he argued were responsible for the decline of the American merchant fleet. He had always been one of the foremost advocates of progressive merchant-marine legislation. Practically every public utterance of his, upon the stump and elsewhere, dealing with general national issues had contained strong appeals for merchant-marine

legislation upon broad lines. He had opposed subsidies upon all occasions, owing to his pronounced conviction that the repeal of the navigation laws would alone promote the growth of a national fleet under American registry. Years afterwards, in the Sixty-fourth Congress, when as an administration leader, with his own party in power in the Senate, he was one of the foremost Senators contending for the passage of the shipping bill, which afterwards became law in a modified form, resulting in the establishment of the present Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet. His activities in this behalf are well known. His strong advocacy of an adequate naval program was inseparably connected with his ardor for a great merchant fleet. Speaking on this subject in the Senate, April 27, 1908, he said:

> For many years, both in and out of Congress, I have been an ardent advocate of an increased Navy and also policies looking to the restoration of our merchant marine. The two things are so related that I can not think of the one without thinking of the other. The decadence of our maritime prestige and power constitutes one of the most discreditable and humiliating facts in our history. * * * No man is more solicitous than I to see our merchant ships swarming all over the world, and I doubt if any is more keenly alive to the wisdom and necessity of constructing a war Navy adequate to subserve the needs of our country.

During the long session of the Fifty-ninth Congress the railroad-rate legislation pressed by President Roosevelt was the acute issue. The bill finally presented to the Senate empowered the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates upon prescribed standards. Debate in the Senate was extended, finally turning upon the question of judicial review of the commission's acts. Many great speeches were made upon the various phases of the legislation proposed. Senator STONE delivered during this session one of the most carefully prepared addresses of his legislative

career, in which he discussed these problems with rare clearness of thought, taking advanced ground upon both the legal questions presented and the general policy of rate fixing. In this speech, delivered April 5, 1906, he opposed enlargement of the power of the judiciary to suspend the orders of the commission and strongly advocated the policy of allowing the commission to initiate and fix rates. He favored the regulation by statute of the practice of courts in dealing with the decrees of the commission, saying:

> A law of this kind to be effective, and orders of this kind by a commission of this kind to be of value, must be promptly enforced. The courts should be open to every suitor, but the privilege of resorting to them should not be turned into an abuse. While guarding the right of everyone to seek a judicial remedy for private wrong, the exercise of that right should be so regulated as to prevent it eventuating in a public wrong.

The original interstate-commerce act, which placed a ban upon rebating, contained a clause punishing violations of the antirebate section by imprisonment. In the Fifty-seventh Congress the imprisonment penalties were abolished by act of Congress. In his speech of April 5, 1906, Senator STONE advocated the restoration of these penalties, being the first Senator to speak upon the subject. Later he offered an amendment to the pending bill which restored the penalty clauses of the original act. This amendment was adopted and the bill as finally passed contained the provision.

In 1907 he made an extended tour of the Philippine Islands and the Orient, and upon his return to the Senate he prepared and afterwards presented a constructive program for the treatment of the islands. He proposed to restore them to their own people 15 years after the date of the treaty of Paris, with a provision for the neutralization of the territory, retaining naval bases for the United

States. This measure was widely commented upon and received the practically solid support of those who favored Filipino independence. The Democratic national platform of 1908 contained a plank indorsing this policy, expressed in language almost identical with the terms of Senator STONE's joint resolution.

Throughout the entire discussion of tariff legislation dealing with the Philippines Senator STONE opposed free trade with the islands. In a notable speech delivered April 20, 1909, he set forth in a strong argument his reasons for his position, based upon constitutional grounds and considerations of sound policy. He contended that if the doctrine which accepted the Philippines as a part of the United States was well founded no customs barriers of any kind should be raised against them, but that, if the Nation proposed to return the islands to their own people, it would be unwise to create such commercial relations as would make it difficult to accomplish our national purpose, adding that we were under no such obligations to the Filipinos "as to make it our duty to support their government or to build up their industry at the expense of our own."

Probably his most active work in the Senate, covering a period of over seven years, was in the great Finance Committee, of which he was appointed a member on December 8, 1910. Even before his service upon the committee began he took an active part in tariff legislation and tariff discussions. He participated extensively in the debates on the Payne-Aldrich bill, the Canadian reciprocity measure, the schedule-by-schedule revision attempted in the Sixty-second Congress, and on the Underwood-Simmons bill—the present law. In the celebrated contest over the Payne-Aldrich bill, during which the majority party of the Senate divided into sharply defined factions, Senator STONE, still a minority Member of the Senate, was

conspicuous. Though not a member of the Finance Committee at that time, he availed himself of the counsel of experts, conducted an independent research into the various schedules, and carried on a vigorous fight in the open Senate for lower duties. Many of his exchanges with Mr. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, then the chairman of the Finance Committee, attracted national attention. Senator Stone may justly be termed one of the leaders in the fight against the bill, which probably aroused more intensity of feeling among the respective factions than any other tariff bill in our history, stimulating a greater variance of opinion with men of all parties. It was largely due to his fight on the Payne-Aldrich bill that his appointment to the first vacancy on the Finance Committee was made.

During the last session of the Sixty-first Congress a heated contest developed in the Senate over the charges against William Lorimer, then a Senator from Illinois. Possibly none more bitter, and few more intense, involving a personal issue, ever appeared in the Senate. Senator Stone was not a member of the committee which investigated the charges, but after the evidence had all been presented and Mr. Lorimer himself had addressed the Senate in his own behalf, Senator Stone, on February 28, 1911, in an extended speech attacked Mr. Lorimer's position and declared his intention to vote to oust the Illinoisan upon the facts submitted. This speech was remarkably dispassionate, displaying in the most striking way the Senator's great powers of analysis and judgment. It was regarded by many as one of the best efforts of his senatorial service, and was undoubtedly of great weight in the final determination of the question. He dwelt strongly upon the ultimate responsibility of Mr. Lorimer for admitted irregularities in the legislature and challenged the correctness of Lorimer's interpretation of

his relations to his lieutenants, particularly a member of the Illinois lower house named Browne. Senator STONE said:

> Does it seem probable that Browne would discuss money considerations with his followers, make promises and afterwards keep them, with utter ignorance on Lorimer's part as to what was being done? Lorimer was in command, and he was to be beneficiary of the contest. Can Lorimer's lieutenants be guilty of these crimes and yet Lorimer himself, the beneficiary, be wholly innocent?

This address is cited as one of the most powerful evidences of Mr. STONE's abhorrence of corrupt practices in politics. The question involved in this case was not partisan—party lines were wiped out in considering the facts. Senator STONE weighed the evidence and declined to compromise with what he considered a vicious thing. He believed the Illinoisan guilty of culpability in this connection, so declared and so voted, and his view finally prevailed.

In 1910 a political upheaval resulted in the election of the first Democratic House of Representatives since 1892. In the new Congress Senator STONE, as a member of the Finance Committee, took a prominent part in support of the Canadian reciprocity treaty presented by President Taft. He was one of the most constant attendants upon the sessions of the committee, which were largely occupied for a time in extended hearings. It developed that many of the President's party associates in the Senate were opposed to the measure, so that a very considerable portion of its advocacy fell upon the shoulders of Senator STONE and his party colleagues. He was frequently called into consultation by the President and worked faithfully and assiduously for the passage of the treaty. He was one of those who were keenly disappointed when the measure was rejected, owing to the fall of the Laurier

government in Canada through the elections in 1911 and the accompanying reversal of the policy of the Dominion.

During this Congress the Democratic House, under a pledge to revise the tariff, passed several bills revising separate schedules of the tariff law, including the free list, cotton and woolen manufactures, and so forth. These measures had a stormy passage through the Senate, but all of them were supported and in large measure sponsored by Senator STONE in committee and upon the floor. Such of the bills as were passed by the Senate, through the cooperation of progressive Republican Senators with the Democrats, were vetoed by the President.

In the Democratic Senate of the Sixty-third Congress Senator STONE was the second ranking member of the Finance Committee and as such participated in the framing of the tariff bill passed in 1913. He was the chairman of a subcommittee considering several of the most important schedules. His responsibilities in this connection were very great and his labors arduous. His colleagues on the Finance Committee have already testified to the continuous and painstaking devotion of Senator STONE to the exacting duties of his position. He worked many weeks upon the schedules assigned to him. Anyone familiar with the details of tariff legislation can well testify to the demands upon the legislator who deals with these matters in a conscientious way. It involved many tedious hours of listening to experts, manufacturers and consumers, importers and exporters, with many patient days and weeks of laborious research and discussion.

Senator STONE applied himself to this vast undertaking with his usual thoroughness during consideration in committee, upon the floor, and elsewhere. At the same time he contributed to the debates in the Senate many illuminating and striking utterances in support of the measure. A tariff bill, under the legislative system then prevailing,

is a greater tax upon the legislator than almost any other. The Underwood-Simmons Act became a law in October, 1913, and about a month later Senator STONE was taken critically ill, largely through overwork during the long period for the consideration of the tariff measure. His illness continued for nearly five months, developing a complication which indirectly contributed to the cause of his death.

During his convalescence in the spring of 1914 Senator Bacon, of Georgia, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, died, and Mr. STONE, the ranking majority member, was appointed to succeed him. He had served on this committee since April 23, 1908. He continued at the head of the committee until his death in April, 1918, covering a period of 10 years of service on the committee. When he returned to the Senate after his illness, having scarcely recovered, the relations of the United States with Mexico had become strained to the point of breaking and Congress had passed the joint resolution justifying the course of the Executive in using the armed forces of the United States against Huerta. Senator STONE strongly supported throughout the measures of the Government in dealing with the usurper.

During his service at the head of the Foreign Relations Committee he piloted through the Senate many important treaties, including arbitration treaties, the so-called Bryan treaties for the advancement of peace, the convention providing for the purchase of Danish West Indies, the Nicaraguan convention, and many others of minor importance.

Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from Missouri and to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from Kentucky, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, February 3, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MONDAY, *February 3, 1919.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, transmitted to the Senate resolutions on the life, character, and public services of Hon. WILLIAM J. STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

Proceedings in the House of Representatives

Monday, *April 15, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who art supremely great, Infinite in all Thine attributes, our God and our Father; above all, through all, and in us all; make us, we beseech Thee, fit temples for the indwelling of Thy Spirit and tractable to its holy influence; that we may conceive wisely, follow the dictates of a clear conscience, and stand firm in our convictions.

Thus may we think well, live well, pray without ceasing, and be ready, when the summons comes, to pass on into the realms of the blest.

Death has laid a heavy toll upon the congressional family, leaving us to mourn; by the passing of two faithful and conspicuous Senators, the wife of a Representative of this body, and one of the oldest and most trustworthy employees of this House.

Comfort us and their several families, by the faith once delivered to the saints, through Him who said, "I am the resurrection and the life; whosoever believeth on me shall never die." Amen.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. William Joel Stone, late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. Stone, which will take place at 4 o'clock p. m. to-day at his late residence in this city.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect his remains be removed from his late home in this city to Nevada, Mo., for burial,

in charge of the Sergeant at Arms, attended by the committee, which shall have full power to carry these resolutions into effect.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

And that in compliance with the foregoing resolutions the Vice President had appointed as said committee Mr. Reed, Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Smith of Arizona, Mr. Pittman, Mr. Jones of New Mexico, Mr. King, Mr. Kendrick, Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Sutherland, and Mr. Fernald.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD. Mr. Speaker, I send to the desk the following resolutions and move their adoption.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM J. STONE, a Senator of the United States from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That a committee of 19 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The Speaker appointed as the committee to attend the funeral the following Members: Mr. Rucker, Mr. Shackleford, Mr. Booher, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Borland, Mr. Hamlin, Mr. Russell, Mr. Rubey, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Hensley, Mr. Igoe, Mr. Decker, Mr. Romjue, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Meeker, Mr. Linthicum, Mr. Temple, and Mr. Rainey.

The Clerk read the following additional resolution:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 30 minute p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

TUESDAY, *April 16, 1918.*

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in announcing the STONE funeral on yesterday the Speaker of the House [Mr. Clark], of course, did not announce himself as a member of that committee. I think he ought officially to be a member of the committee, and I ask unanimous consent that his name be added to the list.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Speaker's name will be added to the list of the committee.

There was no objection.

FRIDAY, *December 27, 1918.*

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, February 2, 1919, be set aside for memorial addresses on the life, character, and public services of the late Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE, of Missouri, and the late Representative Jacob Edwin Meeker, of Missouri.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that Sunday, February 2, 1919, be set aside for memorializing the late Senator STONE and the late Representative Meeker, both from the State of Missouri. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

SUNDAY, *February 2, 1919.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Author of the Universe, Father of all souls, in the midst of the impenetrable mysteries which surround us, we come with profound faith, eternal hope, that in Thy wisdom, power, and goodness we shall be exalted, ennobled, glorified, in Thine own good time.

Let Thy richest blessings descend upon us now as we gather here to give expression to the worth of the men

who were dignified by the people and made Members of the Congress of the United States. What they did to glorify a Nation of freemen will live and be a blessing to future generations.

Let Thy loving arms be about their dear ones to comfort and sustain them in this hour of trial. Give them a vision of the larger life and help them to look forward to a reunion with their dear ones in a realm where mysteries shall be dissolved and the brightest hopes realized in the dispensation of Thy providence. Thorugh Him who died, that we might live. Amen.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the Journal.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal may be dispensed with until to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with until to-morrow. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the special order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Rucker, by unanimous consent,

Ordered, That Sunday, February 2, 1919, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. WILLIAM J. STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri, and the Hon. Jacob E. Meeker, late a Member of this House from the State of Missouri.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolutions.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon.

WILLIAM J. STONE, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Missouri, and the Hon. Jacob E. Meeker, late a Member of this House from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of their distinguished public careers, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the families of the deceased.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Igoe took the chair.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Clark, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: When Gov. Benjamin Gratz Brown, one of the most brilliant of all Missouri statesmen, on an historic occasion said, "Missouri is a grand State and deserves to be grandly governed," he uttered an immortal truth. He might have added, with equal veracity, "She deserves to be grandly represented in the Congress of the United States," and she has been in the main, particularly in the Senate, where paucity of members and length of tenure more surely fix a man in the public eye than service in the House.

First and last, Missouri has commissioned 26 different men to represent her at the other end of the Capitol, in the less numerous branch of the National Legislature, in the Chamber of the Conscript Fathers, in "the Upper House of Congress," improperly so called, or, as Senator Morgan, of Alabama, would have it, "ambassadors of a sovereign State" to the Federal Government. Beginning with David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton, her pioneer Senators, who at once attracted general attention and challenged universal admiration by reason of their commanding talents, down to this very hour, when, in the persons of James A. Reed and Selden P. Spencer she holds high position in that conspicuous arena, Missouri has taken second place to none of her sister States.

These 26 Senators naturally divide themselves into two classes—the Barton line and the Benton line, 18 in the former and only 8 in the latter.

In the Barton line are Barton himself, Alexander Buckner, Lewis F. Linn, David R. Atchison, James S. Green,

Waldo P. Johnson, Robert Wilson, Benjamin Gratz Brown, Charles D. Drake, Daniel T. Jewett, Francis P. Blair, Lewis V. Bogy, David H. Armstrong, James Shields, George G. Vest, WILLIAM JOEL STONE, Xenophen P. Wifley, and Selden P. Spencer.

In the Benton line are Benton himself, Henry S. Geyer, Trusten Polk, John B. Henderson, Carl Schurz, Francis Marion Cockrell, William Warner, and James A. Reed.

Lucky the man who gets into Barton's seat; luckier, far luckier, the man who secures that of Thomas H. Benton, as the precedents indicate a longer public life for him.

An examination of the dates at which Missourians entered and left the Senate will disclose two curious facts in Missouri history. She is the first State that ever elected two men for five full consecutive terms to the Senate of the United States—"six Roman lustrums," as Benton was wont to boast in his pompous way. These were Benton and Cockrell. The only other State to do that is Maine, Missouri's political twin. Missouri was the first State that had only one Senator for any considerable length of time through failure to elect another. By reason of the unrelenting warfare between the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites the legislature chosen in 1854 never could and never did elect a Senator, as it was in duty bound to do, so that for two entire years Henry S. Geyer was Missouri's only Senator.

What is more, the governor did not appoint or attempt to appoint anyone to fill the vacancy, nobody then dreaming that the governor had such power. But in these later days several States have followed Missouri's example in failing to elect Senators, and, strange to say, divers governors have insisted on the right to fill vacancies by appointment under similar circumstances, until finally the Senate, after lengthy and ponderous debate, solemnly vindicated the wisdom and knowledge of constitutional

law possessed by the governor of Missouri in 1855 and 1856, Sterling Price, by declaring that a governor has no right to make such ad interim appointment under such circumstances.

Of Missouri's 26 Senators there were 18 Democrats, 1 Whig, and 8 Republicans. Of 156 years of senatorial representation to which she has been entitled, 2 were not used, 6 fell to Whigs, 28 to Republicans, and 160 to Democrats.

This roster of Missouri Senators is an array of names of which the Nation, no less than the State, may well be proud. There are many great men—scarcely a small one—in the list.

Missouri is proud of her immeasureable physical resources, which will one day make her facile princeps among her sisters; but there is something else of which she is prouder still, and that is her splendid citizenship, consisting at this day of nearly 4,000,000 industrious, intelligent, patriotic, progressive, law-abiding, God-fearing people.

When questioned as to her riches she could with propriety imitate the example and quote the words of Cornelia, the mother of the heroic Gracchi, and, pointing to her children, say truthfully and pridefully, "These are my jewels."

The foregoing remarks, with a few figures changed to bring the facts up to date, constitute the opening paragraphs in my speech presenting the statue of Gen. Frank P. Blair. They must still be of interest to Missourians, at least.

Of these Senators, William Joel Stone was one of the most eminent and forceful. Like so many other men who have achieved high position in imperial Missouri, he was born in Kentucky. Good Bishop Berkely was both a

philosopher and a prophet when he wrote the familiar line:

Westward the Star of Empire takes its way.

It has been so always. Asia peopled Europe; Europe peopled America; and now we are engaged in peopling the Philippines—thus belting the globe, reaching out to the cradle of the human race. Before the railroads deflected travel from its natural course it is interesting to note how closely immigration hugged parallels of latitude. Until the cataclysm of the Civil War dislocated things the base of population in Missouri was composed of Virginians, Kentuckians, North Carolinians, and Tennesseeans, together with a sprinkling of the élite from every State in the Union and from every civilized nation in the world.

It will interest Kentuckians and Missourians to refresh their memories with the fact that James B. McCreary, soldier, governor, and both Representative and Senator in Congress; David Rowland Francis, mayor, governor, Cabinet minister, and ambassador; and WILLIAM JOEL STONE, governor and both Representative and Senator in Congress, were all three born in Madison County, Ky. It is interesting to try to guess what would have happened and who would have come out on top if all three had remained in their native county. Judging from their careers, and knowing that all three were ambitious all their days, and that they fought their way to place and power, it is absolutely safe to say that much friction and much resulting heat would have been engendered in the historic old county of Madison.

The members of that distinguished trio were unlike in appearance and endowments in most respects, but were alike in being men of undoubted ability and of soaring ambition. Each in his own particular way was a skillful

political artist. STONE and Francis prove what a bright Kentuckian may come to in the rich soil of Missouri if transplanted young enough.

I had an interesting and amusing experience growing out of the fact that STONE, Francis, and myself were all Kentuckians by birth. Most of you may not know it but it is true that Ambassador Francis pulls off a Fourth of July celebration of his own when he is at home in St. Louis. As president of the "Louisiana Purchase Exposition," he erected a magnificent memorial building to Thomas Jefferson, and it is in that building he and his friends celebrate the birthday of the Republic. In 1915 the Fourth fell on Sunday, Senator STONE and I speaking in different places in St. Louis. Ambassador Francis had his celebration that year on Monday, the 5th. Learning that both the Senator and myself were in the city, he drafted us and took us out to the Jefferson Memorial Building, where all three of us made speeches. The chairman of the meeting seemed to think it out of the ordinary that all three were Kentuckians by birth and Missourians by adoption. When he introduced Senator STONE, who spoke first, he enlarged on what appeared to him to be a remarkable coincidence. He repeated that formula when he introduced Gov. Francis, who came second. He rolled it as a sweet morsel under his tongue when he presented me. I began by saying: "It is true, as the chairman has stated thrice, that Senator STONE, Gov. Francis, and myself were all born in Kentucky for better or for worse, and I am reasonably certain that I could name certain Missourians who wish that all three of us had remained in 'The Dark and Bloody Ground.'"

Col. Benton served in House and Senate, and to this day holds the Missouri record for congressional service—32 years; 30 in the Senate and 2 in the House—but the

governorship was denied him. Trusten Polk was governor and Senator, but never in the House. James S. Green and Gen. Frank P. Blair served in both Houses of Congress, but were never governor. Blair's brilliant cousin, Benjamin Gratz Brown, reversing the usual order, was first United States Senator and then governor, but never in the House. Gen. John Miller, who served longer as governor of Missouri than any other man, served in the House, but not in the Senate; Gen. Stirling Price, John C. Edwards, Willard P. Hall, Joseph W. McClurg, Thomas T. Crittenden, and Alexander Monroe Dockery were all both governors and Representatives in Congress, but never in the Senate. Trusten Polk and WILLIAM J. STONE were the only two Missourians to go from the gubernatorial chair to the Senate, and in STONE's case there was a period of six years between ending as governor and beginning as Senator. He is the only Missourian to serve as both Representative and Senator in Congress and as governor of his State.

WILLIAM J. STONE was a great Representative, a great governor, and a great Senator. He was one of the most skillful and successful political leaders the State ever had. After a long and stormy career he had attained a sort of suzerainty over the Missouri Democrats. He did not accomplish that difficult feat by brass-band methods or by using a meat ax. He did it by persuasion, by diplomacy, by consultation, and, above all, by being an exceptionally good listener. When he was in St. Louis, Kansas City, Jefferson, St. Joe, or any other city or town in Missouri, the most prominent Democrats called on him in his rooms and consulted with him. That was his favorite method of ascertaining public opinion—his favorite plan of campaign—to converse with small groups of men and out of their various views to determine the best course to pursue. He preferred that way of doing things to large

and boisterous crowds; and because he did pursue that wise and successful procedure his enemies—and he possessed a large and enthusiastic assortment of them—fastened upon him the sobriquet of "Gum Shoe Bill"—which his friends and admirers, who composed a mighty host, took up and converted into a term of affection.

He was a political strategist of high degree. Two instances will suffice. When he was a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination in a fierce and close contest and Col. Richard Dalton unexpectedly carried St. Louis, STONE immediately appealed to the rural districts and won, after a contest which roused the State to white heat from Des Moines River to Arkansas and from the Mississippi to the mouth of the raging Kaw.

In subsequent bitter contests—and considering what a polite, mild-mannered man he was it is surprising how many bitter contests he had—when the metropolitan press unanimously assailed him with ferocity, he boldly and savagely assailed the metropolitan press, skillfully rallied the rural press to his support, and invariably came out victor. I am inclined to believe that he enjoyed the contests more than he did holding the offices—which assumption, if true, sheds some light on the never-settled old question which we debated when we were boys, "Whether there is more pleasure in pursuit than in possession." He was elected to the House three times, to the governorship once, and to the Senate three times. Notwithstanding the awful storm of vituperation which broke upon him in the later months of his life, I have no sort of doubt that he would have remained in the Senate for 15 years more had he lived so long. Even before his death the storm was receding, and when the great Senator died the love of the generous people of the mighty State which had so often crowned him with her choicest honors and which he had served so long with pride and

approved capacity returned to him in undiminished measure and augmented intensity. Since the mighty Benton was laid to rest in "The Great City of the Iron Crown" no such splendid funeral pageant did the people of Missouri arrange for any other of her illustrious sons as for Senator STONE.

What manner of man was he? In his prime he was physically the typical Kentuckian—tall, slender, sinewy, lean of flank, high of head. He always reminded me of a Kentucky race horse in his best estate, needing neither whip nor spur to urge him on.

Intellectually he was of a high order. His parents were neither rich nor extremely poor. They were what we in common parlance designate "good livers," and good living in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky is a status to which most folks never attain. In case of his father and mother Agur's prayer seems to have been answered, "Give me neither poverty nor riches." They were, however, able to give their son a university education. During his entire busy life he was a lover of good books and delighted to associate with learned people. He was familiar with the poets, but the books which he studied most were the best of all books—men and women. As a public speaker he stood high, being dowered with logic, wit, humor, sarcasm, and eloquence when he thought eloquence was appropriate to the theme, the occasion, and the place. Some of his speeches were gems, blending in artistic proportions the ingredients aforementioned. He was one of the most deliberate speakers I ever heard, and when in fine fettle it was a delight to listen to him analyze a subject or excoriate an opponent. The dramatic quality he possessed in large degree. His facial mobility was almost equal to Tom Corwin's. His long black forelock, which was forever tumbling into his eyes, was one of his principal properties in public speeches. His deft manipulation of

that raven forelock was a joy to his friends and an irritation to his enemies. He loathed utterly a double-dealer, a hypocrite, a mountebank, or a liar. He never pretended to be better than he was; he loved his friends, who fully returned his love; and after being the stormy petrel of Missouri for a generation grew ever gentler with increasing years and forgave all his enemies except a very few who had treated him so outrageously and slandered him so maliciously that they had forfeited any claim to forgiveness.

Here is an incident which illustrates his character, his method, and his energy:

It will be remembered that in the early spring of 1911 newspapers began to mention me for the Democratic presidential nomination. The mentioning grew in volume and frequency until by November it was universally discussed in the public press and in private conversation. Senator Stone and I had never been enemies but we had not been intimate friends. It will also be remembered that the public press was also mentioning Gov. Joseph W. Folk very frequently. A more or less active argument was in progress between my supporters and his as to which of us should have the Missouri delegation. In the meantime Senator Stone spoke no word, gave no sign as to which of us he favored, if either. It happened that in the last part of November Dr. Bartoldt's friends gave him a banquet at the Southern Hotel, which he deserved and which he was anxious I should attend—which I did. That afternoon I was out at the home of Judge Virgil Rule, one of my old pupils, three or four miles from the business center of St. Louis. The Judge had invited about a dozen of my friends to be present to consult about starting my campaign. Unexpectedly Senator Stone walked in. The other gentlemen, taking it for granted that he had come to see me, after shaking hands with him adjourned to another room.

So soon as they disappeared this brief dialogue ensued: Senator STONE said, "Mr. Speaker, I came out to ask you just one question for my own guidance—are you a candidate for President?" I replied, "Senator, men do not announce for President as they do for constable." He answered: "Tell that to the marines. I want to know. I have seen it in the papers. I have seen men who assert that you are a candidate but I never saw any man who said you had told him. I desire to know definitely." I said: "Yes, Senator, I am a candidate." Without another word, he picked up his hat, cane, gloves, and overcoat and went down town. Immediately headquarters were engaged and the fight was on.

From that hour until the announcement was made that Gov. Woodrow Wilson was nominated Senator STONE could not have worked harder for me if he had been my father, brother, and son rolled into one.

He was a delicate-looking man in those days; but the amount of work he did was amazing. I formed a deep affection for the man which will abide with me so long as life lasts. To speak of him is to me a labor of love.

Address of Mr. Alexander, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: Senator Stone's death occasioned the Members of the Missouri delegation in Congress genuine sorrow. He was recognized as a wise counselor and sagacious leader, and was often consulted by his Democratic colleagues on questions affecting the interests of the party, of which he was one of the recognized leaders, and of the great State whose welfare and prosperity always had a large part in his thought and gave him deep concern.

In conference he was always considerate of the opinion of others and most courteous and sympathetic. He was painstaking in his efforts to get the viewpoint of his colleagues, and with rare skill composed differences of opinion and secured unity of action. He was easy of approach, truly democratic in his manners, and I believe I may say of him that he enjoyed the affectionate regard of every Member in the delegation, Democrats and Republicans alike. We one and all deeply deplore his death.

Senator Stone was born in Madison County, Ky., May 7, 1848. His father, William Stone, and his mother, Mildred Phelps, were members of old Kentucky families. The Stone family lived in Virginia prior to moving to Kentucky. Senator Stone's grandfather was one of the pioneers of Kentucky, and it is said of him that he served as the first surveyor of Madison County, and that Thomas Stone, an ancestor of the family, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a member of a well-known Virginia family.

Madison County, Ky., furnished Missouri two of her most distinguished governors, William Joel Stone and David Roland Francis, and many of Missouri's good citizens in all walks of life were born in Madison County,

Ky., or are descendants of Madison County stock. In his early youth Senator STONE attended the common schools in his native State. At the age of 15 he moved to Columbia, Mo., and entered the State university. He studied law in the office of his brother-in-law, Col. S. Turner, then and for many years after one of the leading lawyers of central Missouri. He was admitted to the bar in 1869. Shortly thereafter he moved to Bedford, Ind., where he formed a partnership with one A. B. Carleton, but remained there only a few months, returning to Missouri in 1870 and locating at Nevada, the county seat of Vernon County. He rose rapidly in the affairs of the county and soon became one of the leading members of his community. He was prosecuting attorney of Vernon County for one term (1873–1875) and was a presidential elector on the Tilden and Hendricks ticket in 1876. That was one of the most memorable presidential campaigns following the Civil War, and many a young and spirited lawyer in Missouri got his first baptism in politics in that campaign.

Senator STONE was a Member of the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses (March 4, 1885–March 3, 1891); declining to make the race for renomination, he announced that he would be a candidate for the governorship to succeed Gov. David R. Francis.

Senator STONE's race for governor brought him into great prominence throughout the State. He won the nomination after a memorable contest, in which Hon. Richard Dalton, of Ralls County, was his chief opponent. Much bitterness was engendered in the campaign, and the Republicans regarded the time opportune to come back into popular favor in Missouri.

The Republicans nominated Maj. William Warner, of Kansas City, as their candidate for governor. Maj. Warner was a veteran of the Civil War and a member of one

of the leading law firms of Kansas City and was regarded a fine lawyer and a public speaker of rare skill and eloquence. He had been a leader of his party in the State for many years and had enjoyed many political honors. He also held high rank in the Grand Army of the Republic. He was very popular with the Union veterans of the Civil War. The Republicans regarded Maj. Warner as the very strongest candidate they could name to contest with Senator STONE for the governorship of the State. Maj. Warner adopted as his slogan, "Stand up for Missouri"; this slogan was quickly taken up by the Republican leaders over the State and passed on to the rank and file, and coupled with it was the cry, "Poor old Missouri." This cry undertook to picture the plight of the State under the administrations of such distinguished Democratic governors as Silas Woodson, Charles Hardin, John S. Phelps, Thomas P. Crittenden, John S. Marmaduke, Albert Moorehouse, and David R. Francis, than whom no State in the Union ever had more able and efficient chief executives. STONE accepted the issue tendered by the Republicans and contrasted the administrations from Woodson to Francis with the Republican administrations of Govs. McClurg and Fletcher. His speech in opening the campaign was a masterpiece of sarcasm and eloquence, and reviewed with cruel incisiveness the record of McClurg's and Fletcher's administrations. His speech was quickly given wide publicity throughout the State. It was a great speech. The Republicans had planned an aggressive campaign, but soon found themselves on the defensive, and continued so throughout the campaign. It is needless to say Senator STONE was triumphantly elected, along with all his associates on the State ticket.

My only purpose in calling attention to this campaign and Senator STONE's part in it is to emphasize my conviction that that was the turning point in his career. If he

had proven himself commonplace or had failed in his ability to measure up to the high duties that devolved upon him as the standard bearer of the Democratic Party in that campaign, his career in all probability would have closed with his term as governor. I actively supported Senator STONE for the nomination for governor, and our acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, began in that campaign.

It is interesting to recall that a little more than a decade later Senator STONE and Maj. Warner served as colleagues in the United States Senate, Senator STONE succeeding Missouri's little giant, Senator George G. Vest, in 1903, and Maj. Warner succeeding Missouri's grand old Confederate veteran and statesman, Senator Francis M. Cockrell, in 1905. Whatever asperities the campaign of 1892 engendered when they were pitted against each other for governor had long since been forgotten. They were both chivalrous and lovable men.

Senator STONE was a leader of men. He had a great and devoted following in the State of Missouri. He held a high place in the leadership of the Democratic Party in the Nation. No man ever gave more generously of his time and money and talents to his party than did Senator STONE. The success of his party was ever a matter of the deepest concern to him. He did not seek place and power to enrich himself financially, but as an opportunity for larger service to his party and country. He believed in the principles of the Democratic Party with all the intensity of his nature and that the happiness and prosperity of the people could be best vouchsafed under a Democratic administration. He was a man of great courage. He was an honorable antagonist. He counted among his closest personal friends men with whom he differed widely in politics.

Just before the entrance of the United States into the war with Germany Senator STONE opposed the armed-neutrality bill. He was charged with filibustering to defeat it. This he denied. The criticism of his action became so bitter that the General Assembly of Missouri, the majority in both branches being Senator STONE'S personal and political friends, adopted a resolution demanding support of the President. While Senator STONE was not mentioned in the resolutions by name, it was well understood at the time that they reflected the sentiments of the Democracy of Missouri and what they regarded his duty in the crisis then impending.

Senator STONE'S opposition to the declaration of the war with Germany was open and fearless. Although chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate, he declined to take charge of the war resolution as was expected of him by the administration. He transferred his leadership to Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, next ranking Democratic member on the committee. His attitude on those two resolutions was typical of his attitude toward the world war. He believed that America's participation in the war should be avoided if possible, but when the die was cast for war he accepted the decision without further question and took his place with the supporters of the war measures and consistently maintained that attitude until death closed his eventful career.

When we reflect that under the Constitution the power to declare war is vested in the Congress of the United States and not in the Chief Executive, and the responsibility is personal to each Senator and Member of the House of Representatives, we can well understand how any Senator or Representative clothed with such a tremendous responsibility might hesitate to come to a decision involving his country in a war with all its dire con-

sequences. If Senator STONE had lived and had been a candidate for Senator in 1920 and the people of Missouri had had more time and larger opportunity to analyze his motives and understand the tremendous responsibility from which he shrank, they would have regarded his conduct in a more kindly light, and he might again have won popular favor.

The St. Louis Republic, in an editorial following the death of Senator STONE, said:

> STONE was a master of politics. No one of his generation in this State showed such consummate ability to handle men or mold opinion. He never refused a fight when he thought it necessary, and his victories were for the most part hard won in open contest. He was true to his friends, and to this fact, coupled with an uncanny knack of sizing up a situation and acting vigorously, boldly at the chosen moment, may be attributed his great success as a leader.

Senator STONE's was a long and distinguished career. He held many offices of trust and honor. His life work is ended. He will ever be classed as one of Missouri's most distinguished citizens.

Senator STONE was married to Sarah Louise Winston, April 2, 1874, and his wife and three children—Mrs. John G. Parkinson, of St. Joseph; United States Circuit Judge Kimbrough Stone, of Kansas City; and Miss Mabel Stone—survive him. His domestic life was ideal. He was loved with the deepest affection by his wife and children. To them his death is an irreparable loss.

Eloquent testimony of the high esteem in which Senator STONE was held by the people of Missouri was shown when his remains lay in state at the State capitol at Jefferson City. Rich and poor alike, among whom he had made his home for many years, and leading citizens, in official and unofficial life, from every section of the State assembled to pay a tribute of respect to his memory.

His last resting place is in the cemetery at the city of Nevada, where he first entered upon the career in which he was destined to become distinguished in after years. Surrounded and mourned by the friends of his early manhood, who had watched his career with affectionate interest and pride, the mortal remains of Senator Stone were given a last resting place in Deepwood Cemetery.

The name and brilliant public career of William Joel Stone will adorn one of the brightest and most interesting chapters in the history of Missouri.

Address of Mr. Ferris, of Oklahoma

Mr. Speaker: I knew United States Senator William Joel Stone all my life. I lived in southern Missouri and knew him during his public days there. During the early part of it I was a young chap, but I knew him as Congressman, as governor, as Senator, and as man. He played a full part in each rôle. Death always comes too soon, and this is only emphasized as it comes home to us with our families and our friends. The adage is emphasized when it comes home to the life of a man who has spent his entire life in usefulness and activity, and such was the life of Senator Stone. I shall not in the few words I utter here to-day try to place Senator Stone on any unnatural pedestal. If he were in the flesh here this day, it would not be his desire. He spent no time, Mr. Speaker, in eulogistic appeals to his Creator "that he was not as other men," but he preferred to be one of them, to think and act as other men. He was one of men.

It is quite the custom when men are called to that last rest to picture them in some unnatural pose. That would not be Senator Stone's desire. I know of no tribute more beautiful to pay to the memory of a man than to say that he preferred to be as other men and preferred to be one of them, as distinguished from constantly drawing his skirts about him and saying, "I thank God I am not as other men." When I see life ebbing away I am always impressed with the certainty of death and the shortness of the time we may spend here. The thought that is ever uppermost in my mind is that every moment here ought to be spent in some useful endeavor. It ought to increase the ambition to emphasize that thought in the minds of all of us. Senator Stone as Congressman, as governor, and as Senator of the State of my birth honored Missouri

as Missouri has ever honored him. He honored the Nation and the Nation honored him. He was loved and respected by his friends as no other man in Missouri has been loved and respected.

I have many tender ties for Missouri and Missourians. I was born there, married there, educated there, and cast my first vote there. I have felt it was only proper to say these few words, due to my own acquaintance with Senator STONE, due to my residence in Missouri and my birthplace there. I have been honored by an invitation to pay this short tribute to his memory and in loving remembrance of him as a friend, as a man, and as a statesman. He was true to every trust; he was a man; he was a Missourian; he was an American.

ADDRESS OF MR. DICKINSON, OF MISSOURI

Mr. SPEAKER: The life of Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE was an eventful one, filled with distinguished public service. He was born in Madison County, Ky., on May 7, 1848. He came to Missouri in his early youth, first to Boone County, and attended the University of Missouri, at Columbia, from which institution of learning he was a graduate; and later there was conferred on him by this university the degree of doctor of laws.

In his early manhood he moved to Vernon County, in southwest Missouri, and was admitted to the bar in 1869. He practiced law at Nevada, Mo., and attained high rank in an active practice, winning success by his untiring industry and his marked ability as a lawyer and as a gifted public speaker. He served one term as prosecuting attorney of his county, and afterwards served with conspicuous ability his great district in the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses.

My first acquaintance with WILLIAM J. STONE was in 1878, at the congressional convention in Carthage, Mo., when he was a candidate for Congress. There were six candidates in that contest. It was a great convention, lasting several days—the field against Charles H. Morgan, the popular sitting Member—resulting in the nomination of Maj. Waddell, of Greene County. Over that convention presided M. E. Benton, a parliamentarian of ability, who afterwards served in Congress for 10 years with distinction.

Several times did STONE contest for a seat in Congress from his district before he was successful. He battled for congressional honors with such men as Morgan, of Barton; Waddell, of Greene; Ferguson, of St. Clair; Bassett, of

Bates; Salmon, of Henry; De Armond, of Dade, and finally winning in 1882 in a close contest in which the other candidates in the convention were Morgan, Abernathy, and De Armond—all strong men and worthy. Later the gifted De Armond was elected to Congress for 10 consecutive terms and made a great record and a national reputation.

After serving in Congress for three terms WILLIAM J. STONE voluntarily retired and returned to the practice of the law in his home city of Nevada, Mo. Within two years after leaving Congress STONE was nominated, in a notable contest with Richard Dalton as his principal opponent, running as "Farmer" Dalton, for governor of Missouri. Dalton carried the big cities of Missouri with the support of the labor vote, except Kansas City, which had a candidate of its own in the person of Judge James Gibson. WILLIAM J. STONE had more farmer delegates in the nominating State convention at Jefferson City than all the other candidates combined, and was nominated by reason of that support. He bade defiance to the corporation-controlled vote of the great cities and won by reason of his popular strength in the country. He won his election in November by a great majority over Maj. William Warner as his opponent, the popular idol of the Republican Party in Missouri, afterwards United States Senator from Missouri. Maj. Warner opened his campaign at Sedalia, Mo., in a speech widely published and circulated, the text of which, as I recall, was "Stand up for Missouri." The Republican organ of Missouri, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, had rung the changes on "Poor old Missouri" by reason of Democratic rule, and in the shadow of this attack Maj. Warner had taken his text "Stand up for Missouri," charging a need of change of administration by reason of Democratic rule, and putting his seal of ap-

proval upon the Republican cry of "Poor old Missouri." WILLIAM J. STONE opened his campaign in the city of St. Louis in a speech, the most notable ever made in his public career, and answered every attack of the Republican organ—the Globe-Democrat—and the charges made by his Republican opponent—Maj. Warner—against Democratic rule.

This great speech when made and circulated as a campaign document throughout the State made unnecessary any further campaign, though the usual speaking campaign was conducted to a successful end, using STONE's speech as a text. That speech was a sufficient answer to every attack made upon the State under Democratic administration, as compared with Republican misrule in the days following the Civil War. It was the most masterful address and appeal ever made, in my judgment, to the electorate of the State, and resulted in the triumphant election of this great Missourian, who served his State as governor for four years with conspicuous ability, when he again retired to private life and entered again upon the practice of his profession in the city of St. Louis.

After a brief while he became a candidate for the United States Senate and succeeded the gifted George G. Vest, who had retired after serving his State for four terms with great and distinguished ability—a colleague of Gen. Francis Marion Cockrell, who served as Senator for five terms, or 30 years, with like great ability—a great Democrat of wonderful personal popularity—loved and respected for his great worth and popular service.

Senator STONE was first elected Senator by the Legislature of Missouri in January, 1903, and reelected in 1909, and in 1914, by popular vote, for the term which would have ended on March 4, 1921. In my judgment, if Senator STONE had lived and retained his health he would

have continued to serve his great State in the Senate of the United States by a reelection at the end of this term, in the middle of which he passed into the great beyond.

He was a worthy successor of Benton and Blair, of Vest and Cockrell, of James S. Green and Waldo P. Johnson, of B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz and John B. Henderson, and the others who filled with honor and distinction that office of high trust—a galaxy of men of merit.

No public man in Missouri ever had a greater personal following of ardent and loyal friends than Senator WILLIAM J. STONE, and they were found in every section of the State, ready to help and sustain him in every contest. He had filled every position of trust with singular ability and with an honesty of purpose that made successful his great public career. He was a successful lawyer, a worthy Representative in Congress, a great governor, the only governor of Missouri since the Civil War elected again to high position. He was a fearless champion of the rights of the people against the domination of selfish corporate interests. He won success against the bitter opposition of corporate power and the attacks of the great press in the great cities. He had no great paper to champion his cause. He knew the people and knew how to arouse them in support of his efforts to win, regardless of the organized opposition that continued to combat him in his great public career. The country press was his organ.

Senator STONE had a great heart. He not only loved his friends and the great State that honored him so often, but his heart beat in sympathy with the masses of the people, whom he loved and trusted and in whom he believed. He loved fair play, he hated hypocrisy, and was incapable of a mean or a small act. He led an honest and courageous life and left an honored name as a rich legacy to his relatives and friends.

Senator STONE was a man of strong convictions, of great courage, and dared to follow the dictates of his own conscience, regardless of the consequences that might follow. No one doubted his honesty of purpose or the courage of his convictions. He followed the dictates of his own conscience with a courage unsurpassed in the political life of Missouri politics.

I knew Senator STONE well. For nearly 40 years I had been his personal and political friend. I had tried to help him in his struggles for political preferment, for Congress, governor, and Senator. His life was a continual battle. Our relations were close and intimate. He loved his friends and they loved and honored him. They believed in him. He knew men, their strength and their weaknesses. He knew the motives that prompted men to action. He knew the right and dared do it. He feared no man or political interests. He was a leader in his party, State, and Nation, and high in its councils. He helped to make its nominations and its platforms. He wrote its great declarations upon which it went to battle with its political opponents. He believed in the Democratic Party and loved its organization, and believed its success was best for the whole country. He loved his country as ardently as any man, and his great heart almost broke when he saw it involved in a great world war into which he had hoped it would not be drawn. However his friends may have differed with him on any great question, no man ever doubted his honesty or his patriotism.

He was a national character of great ability and power at all times, and his great character and distinguished patriotic services won him the respect and admiration of all who knew him. He was a leader among men. He has passed into the great eternity, mourned by the thousands who knew him and loved him and honored him.

Thousands came from far and near to see him laid away in his last resting place in the beautiful cemetery in his much-loved city of Nevada, where he had lived, where his multitude of friends had helped him in his ambition to rise to high place in the service of his country. Peace to his ashes. God bless the memory of the much-loved William Joel Stone.

Address of Mr. Dyer, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: Missouri lost a splendid citizen, a great public servant, in the death of Senator Stone. The distinguished Speaker of our House [Mr. Clark], my colleague from Missouri, paid a deserved and a fitting tribute in his address to the life and public service of the Senator.

Senator Stone was very close to the people of Missouri; that was demonstrated by many incidents in his long career. Like other men in public life who take a determined position upon public questions, he had, of course, his opponents in his own party; but, as the Speaker has said, Senator Stone was a man who was not afraid to meet his enemies in the open and who would fight for what he believed to be right.

Probably that came from the fact, alluded to by the Speaker, that the Senator, whose death we mourn to-day and pay tribute to, came from the State of Kentucky. Kentucky furnished to Missouri some of our most splendid citizens, men who have rendered great service. It is true, as the Speaker has said, that Missouri in its early days was made up largely of men and women who came to it from States like Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. I am proud of those men and women who came to Missouri when it needed men and women of strong character and determination and who helped shape its destiny and make it the great State that it now is.

I feel some little personal pride in that myself, from the fact that I am a descendant of some of that stock. My father was born in Virginia and my mother in Kentucky, and I know, from their lives and from the things that they stood for and did, that they believed in everything that was for the best in public and in private life. God bless them, is my prayer.

So to-day, in paying tribute to those men and those women who came from those States to help make Missouri what it is, I can join not only in paying tribute to the life and public service of our Senator, but also in paying tribute to the other splendid men and women who did so much for our State and to testify anew to my love and affection for my good father and mother, who were a part of that great citizenship.

Senator STONE gave the greater part of his life to the service of the people of Missouri and the people of the Nation. He rendered conspicuous, able, and brilliant service, and, although of a different political party from his, I say most truthfully and candidly that I think Senator STONE was one of the ablest public servants that Missouri has ever had. I feel that we have lost a public servant, and feel privileged to enter in the Record my judgment, as one of the Representatives of Missouri, as to the able public service of Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE.

ADDRESS OF MR. BOOHER, OF MISSOURI

Mr. SPEAKER: This occasion arouses within me a renewed sorrow for the loss of a cherished personal friend who permitted none of the many distinctions of a long-honored life of public service to mar or stem the warm current of the trust and affection he gave me. I wish to record here somewhat of my sincere estimate that in his taking away the State and Nation he served have themselves lost no truer friend than in WILLIAM J. STONE dead, who, living, had no deeper delight and held no higher purpose than to serve them for their happiest advancement and noblest elevation. His experience, his learning, his accomplishments, and his generous heart equipped him for the most eminent trust of our representative manner of government.

Naturally, thinking of him now, my heart turns first to the place and the scenes that form the picture of our friendship's beginning. I came here February 24, 1889, to serve the unexpired term of a deceased Representative, the Hon. James N. Burnes. Here I met the late Senator. Here began the forming of ties which the passing of more than twenty-five years have only enriched and strengthened, such ties of mutual esteem and consideration that now, in these moments of regretful reflection that an ending of all pulsing, responsive friendships is inevitable, I am fain to seek somehow the consolation that recollection affords of the man I loved and who generously gave me the affection I may no longer enjoy. Thus only memory's alchemy may turn the gloom of mourning into golden light.

WILLIAM JOEL STONE, born 70 years ago in Madison County, Ky., began his career as a statesman—destined to become known and honored among America's highest

and best—more than 35 years ago. It was with the first year of the first Cleveland administration that he started a service of three terms in this House. In its six years he was brought into contact and relation with the most famous representatives of our times. His talents for public service, his gifts and graces of speech and bearing, were such as suffered no depreciation of contact with the qualities of the great men about him. John G. Carlisle was the Speaker of the House, and during Mr. STONE'S years there were in this great arena for national heart expression such men as Samuel J. Randall, Sunset Cox, Roger Q. Mills, William R. Morrison, Pig Iron Kelley, John W. Daniel, William P. Hepburn, Charles R. Crisp, David B. Culberson, long gone from the place they illuminated with their fine and lustrous personalities, and with only two scarcely less distinguished happily yet among living American statesmen still in the public service, Knute Nelson of Minnesota and Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois. These great men represented every part of this Nation. Ardently devoted to their several constituencies, they were scarcely less fervent in their loyalty to the all-embracing Federal institution and the first creature of the Constitution, the House of Representatives. But in the expression of these endowments of faith and accomplishments of intellectual enterprise none excelled WILLIAM J. STONE.

In his fertile mentality grew a remarkable variety of capacities for public service and enlightening public instruction. His speeches and conversations on the floor of the House and in the committee conferences were illuminating, persuasive, and so entertaining as always to recall with pleasure. To me it was ever a recollection that made me proud that he was my friend and fellow Missourian. He did honor to the name of his State wherever he went, whether in the public service or as a

trusted councilor in political party service. He was a Democrat of Democrats in the most Democratic of States. For his expression of himself as such he was especially popular and honored in Missouri. In his participation in the affairs of representative government for all the States of the Union he was no less sincerely and constantly and courageously a Democrat. I do not believe a man has lived since the day of the Father of American Democracy, Thomas Jefferson, the greatest apostle of representative government the world has ever known, whose mind and heart were truer to the rights of humanity than the mind and heart of WILLIAM J. STONE. Like Jefferson, to him the greatest of all liberties was the liberty of mind and conscience to achieve for the individual unrestrained by government the best things possible. In this was he one of the greatest of American Democrats. With all the ardor of a virile, sympathetic nature he was at all times partisan to the principles that exalt the name of Jefferson and which even now shine with new glory in the triumph of the American and allied armies over the implacable foes of democracy.

In the Senate, where he began his service 15 years ago, being at his death in the middle of his third term, the superior scope for intellectual energy afforded by that great body afforded him fit opportunity for the exercise of his conspicuous abilities. His speeches and even his most casual contributions to its adventurous debates are among the most finished ornaments of the Senate's literary record. He touched no subject he did not embellish with the attractive suggestions of a lively imagination bodied forth in the comely raiment of excellent phrase. In the clash of differing views he will be remembered with admiration by his friends and recalled with respect by his adversaries in contention. Partisan as he was, always expectantly looked to as a Democratic leader, his

loyalty to party at no time in his long public and political career marred his friendships, which were numerous and widely extended. No intellectual divergence of view from his convictions altered the cordiality of his relations with men in any position. Incapable of submerging himself in the presence of political opposition and before the assaults of word and act upon principles he cherished, Senator Stone, like all eminent and forceful Americans, was not without his share of enemies. He was at times the target of bitter criticisms. He rarely gave evidence that they disturbed him except when they brought into question the integrity of his motives. He either bore himself silently erect and serene in the little storms of party weather or countered the blows of condemnation and ridicule with thrusts of wit and ironical allusion that effectually weakened opposition. No one can say that he was ever worsted in debate or his resourceful capacity depreciated in any controversy.

Senator Stone's main activities in the Senate were as member of two of its most important committees, Finance and Foreign Relations. As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee he held a parliamentary post for which he was peculiarly and preeminently fitted. It had of all committees the most vital relations with the great question of the world war. When the history of that war in its domestic aspect here and its political incidents and effects shall have been truly told it will be seen, I have not the slightest doubt, that in the haste of excited judgments of the war period Senator Stone was sometimes unjustly assailed for what was incorrectly represented as his attitude. He truly represented that large body of sane Americans who are averse to war and would endure much within honor to avoid quarrels that mean death and crippling to countless numbers of human beings. But I shall not attempt to go any further into the story of Sena-

tor STONE's share in the final determination of the United States to enter the war. Being in, he cast his entire lot of mind and heart into the issue. The most impartial historian will do him due justice. He will be found, I am confident, to have been far more consistent and intellectually righteous than many who held high places and agreed with him in his reluctance to join the war who afterwards became the foremost zealots in its prosecution. He turned all the rare gifts of his nature to the support of his country's cause, ever with the constant prayer for victory breathing with his presence in all company.

I have said that Senator STONE in his congressional service touched no subject he did not embellish. It is a truth that will stand forth freshly with every examination of the part he bore in public discussions. His contributions more than adorned debate. They had a practical strength and an aptness of suggestion which were invaluable aids to constructive legislation. I cite a single instance of this rare equipment for the most exalted public service as afforded in the Senate. It occurred but a little while before his death. A man of comparatively frail physical structure, he was more constantly energetic and punctual at the post of duty than very many stronger men. The Senate was discussing the final shaping of the railway administration bill. Then there arose through Senator STONE's quick apprehension of a demand of public interest sure to come with the future, and which we observe has already come in the present conjectures, as to the disposition of the railroads. He interpolated an exhaustive speech on the bill by Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, with a question as to the interpretation of one of the concluding clauses of the bill—section 24. This was its language:

> That this article is expressly declared to be emergency legislation enacted to meet conditions growing out of war; and nothing herein is to be construed as expressing or prejudicing the

future policy of the Federal Government concerning the ownership, control, or regulation of carriers or the method or basis of the capitalization thereof.

As he put the question, Senator STONE said:

I have an apprehension that when we come out of it we will be faced with one or two alternatives, namely, the taking over of the railroads into absolute Government ownership, or a capitalization of the railroads in order to protect the vast interests involved, and in order that these great transportation lines may be conducted with the greatest possible efficiency in the public interest.

The apt question elicited from the distinguished Ohio Senator an important response. Observing the presence in the committee handling the bill a variety of views, Mr. Pomerene said:

The bill as presented originally provided that Government control should continue during the war and until otherwise directed. That of itself, in the judgment of some of the members of the committee, had a suggestion of continued future Government ownership. It is perfectly clear by the enactment of this law the Congress would not be committing itself to any of these policies which might have been in the minds of Senators.

And, finally, Mr. Speaker, I would not close this inadequate tribute to the worth of my great friend in his great public service without giving another instance of his lofty regard for duty. That, too, was but a short time before his voice was no longer to be heard among men. I refer to that occasion as of profound historic significance and one whose meaning is more strikingly evident at this time than at any period within our history since the founding of our Republic. It was last year, February 21. Reference having been had to the method of procedure in the Senate on the next day, with the customary reading of Washington's Farewell Address, Senator STONE objected to any other course than adjournment immediately after

the reading of the address. Another Senator remarked that it was the rule for the Senate on such occasions to proceed with ordinary business after such reading.

The Missouri Senator solemnly advised the Senate that it was indulging a "poor compliment" to the greatest of all Americans, that then of all times the address should be read and pondered anew in all the matchless wisdom of its admonitions. Plainly, obviously, he referred to that part of Washington's Farewell Address in which he warned his fellow countrymen for all time against "the insidious wiles of foreign influence," advising them to keep the faith of present engagements but to enter upon no entangling alliance which would commit us to participate in the settlement of Europe's quarrels.

I believe that when the historic occasion recurs in the two Houses this month on the birthday of him who gave to his people that immortal counsel, millions and millions of American people as they note the reading of his words again in Congress will stand where Senator STONE stood last year, revering Washington and still first in the hearts of his countrymen. That reminder by the Missouri Senator was a noble climax to a highly honorable and long honored career.

Address of Mr. Hamlin, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: Senator Stone was considerably my senior in years, but it was my privilege to know him well for about 25 years. I greatly admired his splendid ability and his many admirable qualities of mind and heart. I believe that he was as nearly unselfish as any man whom I have known and who was so long in public position.

During his active, busy life he held public office about 26 years, each commission being issued to him as the result of the will of his people expressed through the ballot.

He was prosecuting attorney of his county, Representative in Congress from his district, governor of his State, and United States Senator from Missouri, and which position he held at the time of his death.

He was politically a militant, but he always fought fairly. He never conducted a political trench or submarine warfare. He went forth to battle in the open, panoplied in what he believed was a just cause, and it was always a fight to a finish. He neither asked for nor gave quarter.

Like all such characters, he had the most loyal friends and the bitterest possible enemies. He bore many scars received in battle for the principles of Democracy, to which he was thoroughly wedded. His contests were numerous, but it may be said of him that he never lost a battle. In other words, he stood as the candidate of his party many times before the people who knew him and went to his death without a single defeat. I have heard him praised and I have heard him condemned, but I have never heard any man question either his courage, his loyalty to a friend, or his integrity.

He followed faithfully and unerringly the star of Democracy which Thomas Jefferson hung in the political

firmament. He never apologized for his position or hesitated to announce his creed upon all proper occasions. A few years ago a friend of mine and an ardent admirer of the late Senator told me an exceedingly interesting story which illustrates the manner of man that he was:

All Missourians remember distinctly that just before the close of the Civil War all persons who were even suspected of sympathizing with the Southern cause were disfranchised, and I might say, in the minds of the ultra-Unionist, to be a Southern sympathizer was equivalent to being a Democrat, and under radical rule in Missouri all such were disfranchised, but about the year of 1872, in a limited way, the restrictions were removed and they were permitted to again participate in politics in Missouri. A friend told me that at that time down in southwest Missouri, where the feeling was extraordinarily bitter in a county which had theretofore been Democratic, he and others concluded to try to reorganize their party for the coming campaign. They conceived the idea of having an old-fashioned barbecue and announced that it was for the purpose of getting all Democrats together and have some prominent man of that political faith address them. They made the announcement, but were immediately notified by the opposition that such a meeting could not be pulled off in that county; that no man could come there and make a Democratic speech and get away alive. However, the committee went on with their arrangements. I remember distinctly that he told me that they wrote Gov. Phelps, who for 18 years represented a district in Congress and resigned his seat here to take charge of a regiment in the Civil War on the side of the Union, but who, nevertheless, was an ardent Democrat at all times, and was afterwards one of Missouri's great governors, but for some reason he declined to come. They then extended an invitation to another very prominent citizen of Spring-

field, also a gallant Union soldier and Democrat, Capt. McAfee, but he, too, declined the invitation.

The time for their barbecue was drawing near and they had promised to have somebody there to make a speech and they felt they must make good their promise, and in their dilemma some one made the following suggestion: "I understand there is a young lawyer over here at Nevada by the name of STONE, who is a Democrat and who, I am told, makes a splendid speech. Let us invite him." It was Hobson's choice—there was nothing else to be done, so that was agreed to and the invitation was accordingly sent. There were no telephones or telegraph lines or railroads, for that matter, through that section of the country at that time, but they sent an invitation by mail and received a prompt reply, accepting it. The committee immediately announced that WILLIAM JOEL STONE, of Nevada, would be present and make a speech on the occasion of the barbecue. Very promptly they were waited upon by a delegation, self-appointed, perhaps, who served notice upon them that neither this man or no other man, for that matter, could make a Democratic speech on that occasion and get away alive. He told me that it was the prevailing custom at that time for men to go armed continually in that county. Human life was regarded as almost worthless. The committee finally became convinced that these "rough necks" meant just what they said, but they did not reach that conclusion until it was too late to notify this young lawyer not to come.

None of them had ever seen STONE. But they knew he would have to come across the country in a buggy. And I may say here that the place at which he was to speak was some 30 or 40 miles from where Senator STONE lived. They knew the road he would come in on, and they concluded to watch for him and meet him at the edge of the town and notify him that it would be worth his life to try

to make a speech there on that day, and explain to him that he could drive in through and around the town and could reach again the road over which he had come and go back home, and that then they would announce at the proper time that the speaker for some reason did not show up. They watched for him and met him when he came to town and explained fully the situation to him. This crowd of rough necks were there, armed to the teeth and "tanked up" on native liquor and swearing that no man could make a Democratic speech on that occasion and live. My friend said that when they explained the matter to STONE and told him that they were sorry not to have been able to get him notice not to come, but how he could get on through town and back home, inasmuch as nobody knew him, none would suspect he had ever been there; but he said STONE looked at them for a moment and said "Did you not invite me over here to make a speech to-day?" "Yes." "Well," he said, "I am here. "But," they said, "we can not afford to let you speak. These fellows swear they will kill you, and they will." He said, "Gentlemen, I was invited to come here to-day to make a Democratic speech, and," with an adjective that he usually employed under such provocation, said "I am here, and I am going to make that speech." "But," they said, "you can not afford to make it; it is too dangerous. But if you are determined to make a speech here to-day talk about something else—other than politics." He said, "I will make my own speech."

This man told me that at the proper time STONE went upon the platform and that this crowd that had said he should not speak, and who were drunk and armed to the teeth, rushed up menacingly in front of him. STONE stood and looked at them for a moment and then proceeded to denounce them as arrant cowards; told them what he had been informed they had threatened to do, and defied them

to do their worst. He said: "You have not the courage to do what you said you would. I am here to make a Democratic speech and, by the eternal, I am going to make it."

My friend told me that he had heard STONE many times since make many bitter Democratic speeches, but that he had never heard him make one quite so bitter as the one he made on this occasion. Those fellows who had said that he should not speak and live gradually slunk away, one at a time, until every one of them had gone, and when STONE had finished there was not one of them in sight.

I speak of this to show the courage of the man. He was not afraid of anything.

He grew to be wise beyond his day and generation. From the time that I first began to take an interest in politics he was my political mentor.

Shortly after he was nominated for governor of his State it was my privilege, as a young Democrat, to be one of the speakers at a banquet given in his honor in my city. From that time on, especially, I knew him well. I met him in court as opposing counsel after he retired as governor. I entered this House for the first time as a Member on the same day that he entered the Senate for the first time.

Innumerable times during these years I have gone to him for counsel and advice and I never came away empty handed. I did not at all times agree with him on all public questions, but I always greatly respected his opinions. In his death I lost a friend, our party a great leader, and his country an aggressive patriot. May his ashes rest in peace.

Mr. SPEAKER: We have met here to-day to bear our humble tribute to the many excellencies of character possessed and service rendered his country by the late Senator WILLIAM JOEL STONE during his life.

The history of Senator STONE and the facts concerning his life have been detailed by others more beautifully than I can hope to give them. As has been recited, he was born in Kentucky and reared in Missouri. He was educated in the University of Missouri, graduating from that institution, after which time he located in Nevada, Vernon County, Mo., for the practice of his profession, that of law. I desire here to say that with the great ability possessed by Senator STONE, had he continued in his profession practicing law with the same energy and continuous effort that he put forth in serving the people in public office, he would have soon been one of the very leading attorneys at the bar in his State and Nation, and he would have acquired a goodly share of this world's goods. But he chose public office instead, and he early in life was elected to the Congress of the United States. After serving here in this historic body for six years he retired voluntarily. Soon after his retirement from Congress he was nominated and elected governor of Missouri, after a very spirited fight both for the nomination and the election. As governor he never hesitated to take his stand with the people and against those desiring special favors at the hands of his administration. Assailed many times, yet undaunted, he stood as a mountain among small hills, like a great oak in the forest, giving no heed to the abuse of those who maligned him. The poisoned shafts of the slanderer fell broken at his feet. He gave the people of the State a fair and honest administration. Going out of the governor's office he resumed the practice of law, but he soon reentered public life and was elected to represent

the grand and glorious State of Missouri in the Senate of the United States, in which body he was serving his third term when stricken unto death. For many years he was one of the foremost Democrats and statesmen in our country, and in every station in life to which he was called he graced it with great ability, courage, and manhood. His career was a most brilliant one.

I am glad to say that I counted Senator STONE as my friend; in fact, he was the friend of every worthy individual wherever he happened to be, as well as the friend of every worthy enterprise. He was in deed and in truth the friend of humanity, for his every act testified to the feeling that he bore toward the great body of our people. In my judgment, there never lived a man more thoroughly in love with his country and his kind than Senator STONE. Patriotic and courageous, a partisan in politics in the sense that he believed that parties were necessary for the perpetuity of our Government and our institutions, he was ready and willing at all times, if necessary, to sacrifice his very political life for his convictions. I very well recall, a good many years ago, how he took his political life in his hands when he assailed with all the vigor he possessed certain corporate interests of Missouri, because he thought they were insidiously seeking to get control of his party.

True manly courage can not exist without honor and integrity; in fact, courage is a child of honor. One can not exist without the other. There never was any inquiry as to whether he would stand by his convictions on any question, however momentous and however perilous to him. We need more of such men. That is the stuff out of which martyrs are made. Any person can go with the current, but for one to battle against the current, to go amidst the frowning, hissing, and jeering crowd who are drifting the other way it takes courage and manhood.

I recall very distinctly one occasion when I was in his office, only a few months before he was stricken down. We were discussing the course being pursued by another person in public life, and I said, "Senator, he is rendering a great service to the people, but he will never get any credit for it, because the people will not understand it." He replied, with emphasis, "My boy, it makes little difference whether the people give you credit or not; be true and render service, though they may never appreciate it. My only thought now, during this hour of my country's crisis, is to do my whole duty by my people without regard to its effect upon me." So I say, Mr. Speaker, that the people who go to make up the body of our great and glorious country lost a true and noble friend in the death of Senator STONE. They lost a friend who did not count the cost when it came to serving them. The shells of slander and abuse when bursting all around him affected his course none whatsoever. He preferred to be right to anything else. He never bid for the applause of the truculent hirelings of the special interests of the country; and if his true worth could be portrayed, his diligent efforts in behalf of the people understood, even up to the time that he was stricken while riding on a street car here in Washington, there would be erected in the minds and hearts of the great masses throughout our country a monument that would endure as long as courage, as manhood, and as patriotism is prized by man.

Senator STONE will be missed in Missouri; he will be missed in the Nation. The country sustained a loss in his death, an irreparable loss. He was one of the most human men I ever met, full of humanity, sympathy, and love. He was never so busy that he could not give one a patient hearing, and he was always ready to render helpful service to the needy one. We all lost a friend when Senator STONE died, and his family lost a patient, kind, and loving parent and companion.

Address of Mr. Rubey, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: More than 40 years have passed since the Members of this House have been assembled to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of a Missouri Senator. On September 20, 1877, Lewis V. Bogg, then a United States Senator, died while serving his first term, and since that time no Member of that body from Missouri has died while in office until April 14, 1918, when William J. Stone, then serving his third term, passed away. Missouri during her little less than 98 years of statehood has had 26 Senators, 4 of whom have died while in office. Besides those already mentioned, Stone and Bogg, the third and fourth Senators, Alexander Buckner and Lewis F. Linn, passed away while in office. Buckner served only a little more than 2 years, while Linn served nearly 15 years.

I trust that it will not be considered inappropriate if I briefly touch upon some facts and incidents of history relating to the long line of illustrious men who have occupied seats in the "upper House" from the great Commonwealth I have the honor to represent in part in the "lower House" of Congress.

During the early years of her statehood the people gave to their Senators long tenure of office. For 35 years she was represented by only six men; two of these died in office; otherwise the number would have been less. From 1855 to 1881 no man succeeded himself in office, with the single exception of John B. Henderson, who was appointed to succeed Trusten Polk in 1862 and who subsequently was elected to fill out his unexpired term and reelected for a full term. Henderson's length of service was a little over 7 years. During this brief period of 26 years no less than 15 men occupied seats in the United States Senate from Missouri. With the reelection of Francis Marion Cockrell in 1881 the people returned to

their former custom of giving long service to the faithful; and, as if to emphasize that fact, they reelected Senator Cockrell four times, giving him 30 years, a record equaled only by Thomas H. Benton. To be exact, Senator Cockrell's service exceeded that of Thomas H. Benton several months, due to the fact that while Benton was elected in 1820 Missouri was not admitted until August 21, 1821. The shortest term of service was that of David F. Jewett, who was appointed to fill a vacancy and who served from December 19, 1870, to January 21, 1871, a period of one month and one day. He had a close second, however, in James Shields, who was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Lewis V. Bogg and served from January 24, 1879, to March 4, 1879, one month and eight days. Only one of Missouri's Senators has ever resigned. That was Charles D. Drake, who resigned to accept the appointment of chief justice of the Court of Claims. Two of our Senators were foreign born—Carl Schurz, who was born in Germany, and James Shields, who was born in Ireland. Schurz, after representing the State in the United States Senate, became a member of President Hayes's Cabinet and later located in New York City, where he became a very distinguished editor and author. Shields had the very great distinction of representing three States in the United States Senate. First Illinois, then Wisconsin, and, last but not least, Missouri. David R. Atchison is the only Missourian who has had the distinction of serving as President of the United States. He was President pro tempore of the Senate on Sunday, March 4, 1849; and as Gen. Taylor was not sworn in until March 5, Atchison for one brief day was President of this great Republic.

WILLIAM J. STONE, in honor of whose memory we meet to-day, was the twenty-fourth Senator from Missouri. In length of service he was exceeded only by Senators Cockrell, Benton, and Vest. Elected in 1903, reelected in

1909, and again in 1914, the last time by popular vote, he was just entering the sixteenth year of service at the time of his death.

The old State of Kentucky has been very generous to Missouri. She has furnished us with some of our most distinguished citizens, among them Senator STONE. He came to the State early in life and was educated there, graduating from the university at Columbia. Every official position he ever occupied came to him as the result of the confidence and esteem in which he was held by Missourians—prosecuting attorney, Member of the House of Representatives, governor, United States Senator. Remarkable career, one of which any man might well be proud. In every position, from county attorney to the exalted position of United States Senator, he served his people with fidelity and distinction. Of all Missouri's distinguished governors, Senator STONE is the only one ever elected to the United States Senate after serving a full term as governor. Trusten Polk was inaugurated governor and in a few days was elected to the Senate, while B. Gratz Brown was elected governor after having first served in the United States Senate.

My acquaintance with Senator STONE began in 1892, when he made his memorable campaign for governor of Missouri. His opponent in that race, Hon. William Warner, attacked the record of the Democrats and selected as his slogan "Poor old Missouri." Mr. STONE accepted the challenge, defended the Democratic record in Missouri, took as his watchword "Grand old Missouri," and from one end of the State to the other proclaimed the greatness and the glory of that splendid Commonwealth, of which some one has written:

> The winds of heaven never fanned,
> The sparkling sunlight never spanned,
> The borders of a better land
> Than this our own Missouri land.

That remarkable campaign of 1892 added to the luster of STONE as an orator, won for him the governorship, firmly established him in the affections of his people, and eventually made him United States Senator.

In his political speeches Senator STONE was unselfish; he always talked for the "other fellows" rather than for himself. In every campaign he ever waged he never lost sight of his associates on the Democratic ticket, and each one of them received from him strong words of praise and commendation. No man I have ever known was truer to his friends than he. He firmly believed in and faithfully practiced the sentiment—

> The friends thou hast and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel;
> But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
> Of each new-hatched unfledged comrade.

Of Senator STONE it may be truly said, "He died in harness." On the way to the Capitol, where he was to have made a speech in the Senate, he was stricken. He lingered in a semiconscious state only a few days. Once in a while he would revive, and in those moments he would insist that he must go to the Senate, that he was expected to speak, and that he must be there ready to do his duty.

He died, I am sure, as he would have desired could he have been consulted. There was no long and lingering sickness full of pain and consequent suffering of sympathizing loved ones powerless to give relief. On the contrary, after an illness of only a few days, surrounded by his devoted wife, son, and daughters, he peacefully breathed his last and passed to the great beyond. That his going brought sincere sorrow and mourning to the great hosts of faithful friends was manifest on the return of the body to Missouri. From the time the funeral train crossed the Father of Waters—the Mississippi River—and reached

Missouri soil until the very end of the journey, at every place where a stop was made the train was met by vast crowds of people. At St. Louis, the first stop, that great, magnificent station could not begin to accommodate the friends who were there to pay their tribute of respect. The vast throng lined up on either side of the long platform and stood with bowed and uncovered heads as the body was borne from the train. Tears flowed down their cheeks, giving mute and unmistakable evidence of the sadness which filled their hearts. The next stop was made at Jefferson City, the State capital, where the body lay in state in the rotunda of that magnificent new statehouse so recently erected upon the bluff of the Missouri River. On this historic spot had stood the old capitol building in which for four years Senator STONE had served as governor. The new capitol, erected at a cost of nearly $4,000,000 to replace the old one destroyed by fire a few years ago, was just being completed, and Senator STONE's body was the first of Missouri's distinguished dead to lie in state there. The casket containing his remains was placed in the great rotunda, in the recess formed by the great winding stairways leading to the floors and galleries above. It was banked with the most beautiful array of flowers I have ever looked upon—tokens of love, affection, and esteem sent from far and near. All day long there was a constant stream of people passing the bier of Missouri's distinguished Senator. They came from everywhere; nearly every county was represented. Old men, with the weight of years showing in their tottering footsteps and their whitened hair, paused and looked upon the face of the dead, wiped the tears from their eyes, and with saddened countenances and throbbing hearts passed on. These were the friends of other days—men who had known him, honored him, and stood by him in the days gone by, and who now came to look for the last time upon

the face of their friend and pay to him this last mark of their affection and esteem for him. Men and women passed by the thousands. The children came from the public schools; the business men closed their doors and came to pay honorable tribute to the dead. No one who viewed this truly wonderful scene at Jefferson City can for a moment doubt the esteem and love of the people of Missouri for this man who had served them in the threefold capacities of Congressman, governor, and United States Senator.

The funeral train left the capital at night, arriving at Nevada, Mo., early the following morning. Here again we were met by vast crowds of people who came from the surrounding counties. This was the old home of Senator STONE. Here it was he began his political career. Here it was we were to meet his old-time friends, those who had known him from his early manhood. The manifestations of sincere grief and sorrow shown both at the funeral and at the grave told the story of their affection for this distinguished man far more eloquently than it can possibly be related by me. Home! He was back home again; he had taken his last earthly journey and had come back to make his final resting place near his old home. We laid him to rest in the beautiful cemetery at Nevada. There in the silent city of the dead he rests to-day, surrounded by friends and loved ones who have gone before and where he will be joined in the days to come by other loved ones and other friends who must so surely follow.

The body of WILLIAM J. STONE, all that is mortal of him, lies out there in that cemetery; the grass will grow green above his grave, the flowers will bloom, the birds will sing their carols in the trees; friends and relatives will come to visit that grave, to spread flowers upon it, and to water them with their tears; in time, no doubt, friends and admirers will erect a suitable monument, so that future

generations may know that the body of a distinguished statesman and citizen lies buried there. WILLIAM J. STONE is not there; his immortal spirit took its flight when the breath left the body. He has gone to meet his reward in the great beyond. On that bright day in April, nearly a year ago, his immortal spirit winged its flight—

> To that mysterious bourn
> From which no traveler returns.

And to friends and loved ones who put their trust in Him "Who doeth all things well" there comes that sweet consolation:

> We'll meet thee and we'll greet thee
> On the never ending shore;
> We'll dwell with thee in glory,
> To be parted nevermore.

Address of Mr. Igoe, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: My personal and intimate relationship with Senator Stone began only with my election to Congress. When I took my seat here in March, 1913, I had known him only in a general way and by reputation, as everyone in Missouri had known him up until that time.

I think the outstanding things in his character were his courage and his honesty. He rendered great service as a Member of this House, as governor of the State of Missouri, as Senator, and also in private life.

Members have spoken of his courage, and there is one thing I recall as a boy that he did in Missouri, that required as much courage as was ever displayed by a public man at any time, and that was when, in the State of Missouri, some people undertook to set up a sort of religious persecution. It took courage for a man in public life to denounce it, but Senator Stone had no hesitation whatever in going from one end of the State to the other denouncing the movement as un-American, unfair, and a disgrace to the State.

There is no man, in my judgment, in the Democratic Party who is entitled to more credit for the success of the legislative program of the Democratic Party in Congress since 1913 than Senator Stone. He was a leader and a worker. He worked day and night as a member of committees of the Senate and he labored with the members of his party. He worked to make a record for the administration and carry out the promises that his party had made. He fought for his party; he believed in his party; and he fought for it because he thought it was an instrumentality through which the wishes of the majority of the people might best be carried out, and thus preserve the Government which we all love.

There are very few people, outside of Members of Congress who served with him, who know how devoted Senator STONE was to the duties of his office. He did not spare himself, and though at times in recent years his health was impaired he did not slacken his efforts, but devoted his entire time to legislative matters, working far into the night. No one who came to his office for advice or assistance was turned away and all were made to feel welcome. It was marvelous how a man so busy could find time to receive so many callers and give them his aid in satisfying their wants.

I had occasion many times in the last few years of his life to go to him for advice and assistance and talked to him in confidence when these great issues came upon us. Immediately preceding the war and the declaration of war itself I had occasion to meet him and to discuss matters with him. He never undertook, in my judgment, to lead any man along any course nor did he undertake to persuade them from doing what they conceived to be right and proper, and in all the criticisms that have been visited upon him for the course that he took it seems to me that the men who are most bitter never did understand the greatness of his character nor the greatness of his love of his country. There is no man who ever served in this Congress who had a greater love for his country than did Senator STONE. Mr. Speaker, I hope that in the time to come that he will be remembered for what he was, a great American, a great Senator, a courageous man, and one who wished to serve the people who were generous enough to select him to speak for them. Mr. Speaker, we have lost a friend and the Nation has lost an able, honest, and courageous statesman.

Address of Mr. Knutson, of Minnesota

Mr. Speaker: It was not my privilege to know the late Senator Stone intimately, but for years I had been an admirer of his strong and fearless personality, having read much of him in the press and in congressional proceedings, and anyone who has followed the career of that strong and forceful man can not but feel that in his death the whole Nation, as well as the State of Missouri, has lost a public servant who could be illy spared at this time. Rugged and honest, he was a type of man that is all too uncommon in these trying times. I do not believe that he ever stopped to think of personal consequences when he took up cudgels for a cause which he believed to be right. With the light of battle in his eyes he would go into the fray without hesitation and without fear, thoroughly armed with facts which were in the main incontrovertible. I have seen him stand as a lion at bay in the Senate of the United States hurling defiance at his opponents, striking right and left without regard to anything but the cause of truth and justice. Big hearted and loyal to his friends, it was inevitable that they should be legion and his enemies not a few. In the heat of battle he would throw aside the garb of partisanship and stand erect in the forensic arena dealing blows that struck home. He despised cant and hypocrisy; he detested falsehood and deceit. During the last few years of his life he shone with exceptional luster. He often disagreed with the lines of policy laid down by the titular head of his party, and we all recognize that it takes courage of the highest order to disagree politically with those who hold the destinies of others in the hollow of their hand. When he died the great and silent people of this country lost a stanch friend and faithful servant.

Missouri has been singularly fortunate in her representation in the Congress of the United States—Thomas H. Benton, Champ Clark, and many, many others, living and dead, whom I might mention. All have served her faithfully and well—none more so than WILLIAM J. STONE, patriot, statesman, and friend and champion of the common people.

Mr. Speaker: I desire to pay my tribute, with the rest of my colleagues, to that great Missourian whom we all honored and whom we all loved, Senator Stone. It would be almost impertinent for me to try to analyze his character and his history, because he was in public life as long or longer than I have been in this world. His career in public life began about the time that I was born. I did not know him when he was a Representative in Congress from the district which I have the honor now to represent. I did not know him when he was governor of Missouri. I am not familiar personally with all the storms and contests in Missouri through which he passed. My first acquaintance with him which could in truthfulness be called intimate began after my election to this high body.

To speak of his ability is unnecessary. It has never been disputed; it has never been questioned, either in Missouri or in the United States. But I do want to speak of the thing which to me stands out preeminently above every other characteristic which this great man possessed. Champ Clark, the beloved Missourian, has said that—

> No man is fit to be a lawgiver for a mighty nation who yields to the demands and solicitations of the few who may have access to his ear but is unmindful of the vast multitude who may never hear his voice or look into his face.

When the things which Champ Clark has said on history, when the things said about him as the beloved Speaker of this House and leader of Democracy have been forgotten, that one utterance of his, in my humble opinion, will make him live in history. For it is as true to-day, as it has always been, that the pen is mightier than the sword. No man is fit to be a lawgiver of a mighty nation who

yields to the demands and solicitations of the few who may have access to his ear but is unmindful of the vast multitude who may never hear his voice or look into his face. In that brief sentence you find the guiding star of Missouri's great Senator, WILLIAM JOEL STONE.

And why avoid the question? We are all friends here to-day, are we not? You know to-day when you mention the name of Senator STONE you do not think of him as Representative, you do not think of him as prosecuting attorney of one of the great counties of my district, you do not think of him as governor, you do not think of him as Senator; you think of him and the part he played in the great struggle of all the world that has just been brought to a termination. This is not the time nor place to discuss whether Senator STONE was right or wrong. But to me it would be a mockery, to me it would be a sham, if I stood here in this great legislative Hall to-day and was silent as to the great part he played in that titanic struggle. The majority will say that he was wrong. Let him who can weigh the value of a human life and a human career and then multiply it by 50,000—to say nothing of the courses which lie ahead of our great Nation—let him who can measure human life say, with dogmatic and arrogant authority, that our great Senator from Missouri was wrong. But whether or not you can say in your heart that he was wrong in what he did, you can not deny that he thought he was right; and in this solemn hour when his colleagues in public life pay tribute to his memory I dare to stand and resent to all the world the slander, the villification, the abuse that was heaped upon him from the public press and from the rostrum and from the pulpit of my country for doing with courage the things that he thought were right.

I pay tribute to the men who followed the different course, which they thought right. It took courage for

them to do different from what Senator STONE thought should be done. But in this solemn hour when we pay tribute to this great man, who sleeps the last long sleep in the peaceful country churchyard in the district which I have the honor to represent, I dare to proclaim anew the doctrine that any man who sits in the Senate of the United States from Missouri and does not on every question, especially the vital question of peace or war, do what he thinks is right is a traitor to Missouri and is unworthy of the senatorial toga of that great State.

And so it was that in the last hours of his eventful life, with the marks of age taking hold of him, when his feet were close to the river's brink, his heart became more mellow, his feelings for those who opposed him more gentle, his infinite patience and kindness to his fellow men, as it seemed to me, increased. But, thanks be to God, who giveth the victory, there was no diminution of his lionlike courage and of his ability to fight for what he thought was good for old Missouri and for the people, high or humble, of the United States. He went down as a true Senator from Missouri—went down not with feebleness, not with faltering, but with the courage of a man who realizes the dignity of his office and the solemnity of the responsibilities imposed upon him.

Sleep on, brave Senator from Missouri! You followed the even tenor of your way in the last hours of your life, when I knew you well. You followed it imperturbed by the tempests of prejudice and passion which raged about you, unshaken by the storm of villification and abuse that beat over your aged head. Your heart to the very last was kindly and loving and affectionate for the people of Missouri and the people of the world, and even for those who abused and misunderstood you.

History will be written some day. How high a place you will have on that page I do not know, brave Senator

from Missouri. But this I do know: That when the storms of misrepresentation, when the blasts of prejudice and misunderstanding, have passed and gone, the people of Missouri and the people of this country will pay just appreciation to you as a great man who in the last hours of his life lived up to Missouri's traditions and did what he thought was right.

Address of Mr. Romjue, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: There has been so much said this afternoon in memory of Senator Stone, of Missouri, and it has been so well said that I feel impelled not to speak at length.

When we consider the life and character of Senator William Joel Stone, of Missouri, we find ourselves attracted to those elements within him which marked him as a man, a citizen, and a statesman of unusual proportions.

In what I shall say to you this afternoon in his memory will not be said with any pretense or claim to his perfection, for he, like you and I and all of us, was human.

But on the 14th day of April last, when the last spark of life, so far as this world is concerned, expired or took its flight from his bosom, there was stilled forever upon the stage of worldly affairs a heart, a brain, a body which had throbbed and thought and worked for his fellow man.

I shall never forget the time when I first saw and heard Senator Stone. It was during his campaign for governor of Missouri. I was a boy in my teens.

A big political meeting was held in the county seat of my home county of Macon. The day was designated as the three governors' day. Gov. Horace Boies, the then Democratic governor of Iowa, was there; Hon. David R. Francis, then governor of Missouri, was there; and Senator Stone, then an aspirant for the governorship of Missouri, was in attendance.

It was a clear, bright day. The political contest between Senator Stone and Maj. William Warner was getting at fever heat.

This campaign took place at a time when partisanship ran higher than it does to-day in political contests.

It was a time when the Democrats and Republicans of Missouri followed with intense enthusiasm the leadership of their party candidates. The people were intensely interested in the issue of the campaign and in the success of their chosen party leader.

In the early forenoon thousands of people, coming for many miles, had assembled. It was unquestionably the greatest political gathering that had ever been held before or after that day in that county.

Political badgering often took place in campaigns of that time.

Senator Stone had just reached the climax in a masterful speech, enunciating and defending the principles and issues upon which his party was waging the campaign, which issues, from his party's standpoint, had just shortly prior in this community been assailed by his political opponent, Maj. Warner.

The meeting of the issue by Senator Stone was received with such unanimous and generous approval of the audience that it rankled in the breast of one listener, who was almost alone of his kind.

This man arose in the midst of the audience and began to announce his faith in the political party to which Senator Stone was opposed. It was apparent at once that the fellow was intoxicated, for which no one was responsible except the man himself and those who had manufactured and sold the beverage to him. Addressing Senator Stone, he said:

> I recall from the Good Book that it is written that at a very important time and a very important place a celestial rolled "The stone away." On election day I propose to help Maj. Warner roll "A stone away."

Senator Stone quickly seized the situation and said:

"My good friend, you will have to take more of 'Warner's Safe Cure' before you will be able to roll this Stone away."

Of course the retort, as might be expected under the circumstances, was received by the vast audience quite naturally.

I desire to say this of Senator STONE: In his prime, when he was at that period of life when his body was much stronger than it was in the latter days of his life, I do not hesitate to say that for political vision and foresight he was not excelled anywhere throughout the entire United States. Senator STONE had a combination of combativeness and a tact for conciliation rarely found in any man. It has been told to you this afternoon how fearless Senator STONE was. Such is true, yet he was always ready to conciliate, always ready to lend his influence for the purpose of bringing factions in his party together. He was always ready to do any conciliatory act that he could do which would not abrogate principle. That he would not do. Senator STONE was more viciously fought, perhaps, than any other man in political life in Missouri within my memory.

From what you have heard of him this afternoon you will observe that Senator STONE was fearless, that he would fight, that he was courageous, that he would stand first for those things which he believed to be right, and by reason of his great political foresight he soon became what you might term the party leader in our State. Democrats from all over the State would flock to him to seek his counsel. It became apparent to the opposition party that in order that they might overcome the influence of the success of the Democratic Party in our State it was necessary to destroy Senator STONE, who in the earlier days, of course, had been our governor, and all of the metropolitan press of that State which were interested in the party which was opposed to Senator STONE began at once to turn their vituperation and attacks toward him. These were constantly directed toward him.

Senator STONE, as I have detailed, was always ready to accept the gauge of battle, and he met the issue fairly and squarely. He would not be controlled by the metropolitan press of his own party when he believed them wrong. He refused to be dictated to by them. This called upon him opposition from some of the leading papers even of his own party, but Senator STONE had that determination and that vision which is not always found in men of public life; that is, he was not willing to subordinate his future prospects to the power of any metropolitan press in his State when they disagreed and he felt he was right. So he went out and openly defied the press of his State when they wrongly attacked him, and the people came to his rescue and the country press throughout the State came to his rescue, and they were never able to accomplish his political destruction. I was one of those who were in the funeral party, and I shall never forget when we arrived at Nevada, Mo., Senator STONE'S old home town. We stepped off the train very shortly after daylight and the people were at that time beginning to come into the town.

As I walked a few yards away from the car in which our delegation was located I observed an old gentleman, perhaps about 6 feet tall. He was dressed very plainly. He was tall and erect, and in his face you could see there was sorrow. I said to a Member of the Missouri delegation who was with me, "Do you see that gentleman? Thinking of him here at this early hour in the day, would you give me an analysis of that man as you read him?" He looked at him for a moment, and he said, "I have no doubt he is one of Senator STONE'S most faithful friends. He has doubtless come many miles in order that he might be here to pay his last respects to the memory of his friend. I said to my colleague, "Let's go to him and meet him."

We did, and introduced ourselves. I asked him if he lived in that town or near by. He said, "I live on a farm 15 miles away." I asked, "Did you come in this morning?" He said, "I did. I rose at 4 o'clock, in order that I might get in here as early as possible." "I presume," said I, "that you are a friend of Senator STONE?" He said, "I am. I voted for him the first time he ever ran for prosecuting attorney. I knew him. He lived among us. I supported him in every political campaign from that day down to his death, and had he lived to become a candidate again I would have been found standing as loyally and faithfully by him as I ever had in the past. We people feel that we have lost our best friend. We have lost a man whom, although we might sometimes and on some matters differ with him, we have always found sincere, honest, and true to his friends."

I am sure, gentlemen, that those who were in that funeral party on that day, and who had the opportunity of seeing the vast crowd of people assembled to witness the last sad rites over the remains of Senator STONE, could reach no other conclusion than that he still lives in the hearts of Missourians and in the hearts of his friends.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce that one of the closest personal and political friends of the late Senator STONE is prevented from being present to-day on account of sickness; in fact, he is not in the city. I refer to our colleague Mr. Booher, and I ask unanimous consent that he may have the privilege of extending his remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, in order to avoid confusion, I ask unanimous consent now that each of the Missouri

delegation, several of whom can not be here to-day, being kept away on account of sickness, be permitted to extend their remarks in the Record, as well as other Members who desired to be here, but can not be here to-day, be also permitted to extend their remarks in the Record, and also that the same may apply to all gentlemen who speak.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Then, in accordance with the resolution heretofore adopted, the House (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Monday, February 3, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m.

MONDAY, *February 3, 1919.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate assembles as a mark of respect to the memory of Hon. WILLIAM JOEL STONE, late a Senator from the State of Missouri, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Senate again expresses its profound sorrow at the death of the late Senator from Missouri.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives and to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

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